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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

THESIS

SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTIVE INDIVIDUALISM

Submitted by

Hamlin George Tobey  
(B.R.E. Boston University, 1929)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

1930

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## PREFACE



FREE AGE



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This subject was chosen with the idea of pointing out the present relationship existing between the individual and the institution. It will discuss the unnecessary burden that the institution has placed on the individual and the deteriorating effect such a burden is having.

I have discussed: 1.) Those institutions which can be held responsible for having taken away from the individual a large percentage of his liberty and his freedom; 2.) Anarchism and Socialism, which are at present trying to restore the individual to what they believe to be his rightful place, and offsetting those institutions which have sacrificed the individual for their own power and glory.

The last chapter contains: 1.) A discussion of the individual, his rights and freedom; and 2.) the institution and the extent to which it should, for the benefit of society, suppress the individual. I have concluded with what I believe to be the proper attitude of both the institution and the individual toward one another, and to what degree they must be willing to sacrifice in order that they may work together for the betterment of the human race.



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## INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION



✓

The institutions of society, such as the church, the state, education, the family, and industry, are products of the evolutionary process of man. They are the results of man's desire for response, recognition, security, and new experience. Once the instincts and habits of man caused him to group himself into tribes, clans and various social bodies. As his people increased in number and intelligence, these groups enlarged and became known as states: forms of government in which man could exert his authority, and find recognition and security.

The very nature of man brought about the development of his faith in supernatural powers. This development crystallized in an organized institution, which later became known as the church. This institution provides man security in his faith and an interpretation of his religion.

The state reached its zenith when Rome attained its greatest power. At this time the state was the supreme institution of the world, the one institution on an authoritative basis. The destruction of its power may be said to be due in part to the growth of the church, which became the institution of undisputed



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authority at the fall of Rome. During the Dark Ages, when the church attained its greatest power and glory under the Catholic organization, it was the dictator of man's conscience and actions. When either of these institutions were in power man looked upon them as the word and tools of God himself. He feared and obeyed them because they had built up within him a feeling of dependence, a belief that only through them could he receive grace, happiness in his life here on earth, and salvation in the world which was to come. These institutions had obtained their greatness, through their success in crushing the individual.

We are not burdened with any one supreme institution, as existed in the Roman Empire, or in the church of the Dark Ages. Nor are we to believe that it has lost its influence on the individual and on society. It is playing a very prominent part in everyday life, to such an extent that the individual cannot consider himself a free creature, a law unto himself. Every man's life is dependent upon some form of institution, just as has been the case for so many centuries. From the time man became conscious of his social group, of his customs, and environmental characteristics, he has established some form of edu-



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cation for his offspring, in order that they might perpetuate the characteristics of his tribe. At first, education existed on a small scale but it continued to develop until it reached to such enormous power that it greatly affected the life of every man. Not only education, but other institutions as well, have been erected by man, as he has felt the need for some kind of expression or development. Conscientiously, man built them to be his guide, his means of advancement.

Through the process of development some institutions became useless, while others gained such a power over the individual and society that they succeeded in maintaining their influence in the life of man. With every advancement of the individual, there spring up new institutions to serve him, to require his attention, until the individual finds himself living in a realm of institutional power and influence, to such an extent that the individual cannot survive apart from them. He is compelled to recognize their existence and, in most instances, to obey their dictates.

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it the material for building; thinking, as he watched the institution grow, that it was an organization whose power was to be used for his achievement of advancement. Such was the aim of every institution in its infancy. The individual was the object of its attention; it was for his benefit that the institution existed. The church aimed to develop his faith, his character, show him his Creator, and to be of service to him. Education was established for his advancement for the development of a broader life. Every institution that has reached a place of power started because of some individual need, to furnish the individual with something necessary in life.

The institution grew. It developed until it held power undreamed of, and like everything else that grows to a larger size than anticipated, it gradually lost sight of the object for which it was built, the very material out of which it was made. The individual was gradually lost in the dazzling light of power and glory. The institution <sup>of</sup> today, like that of yesterday, on reaching power, commenced to use the individual as the stepping stones to greatness. By a slow process, the personality of the individual was lost in the onward sweep of the institution. The individual was sacrificed for the glory of power; he was crushed for the glowing light ahead.







Society restricts him in innumerable ways and with immense force. Laws, statutes, by-laws, systems of ethics and of etiquette (which are quite as compulsory as law) control almost every act of every normal adult man and woman..... The average adult man cannot eat, cannot dress, cannot even drive a car as he or she chooses. Society tells us very plainly and in detail just how each of these acts is to be performed. The number of hours which one must work, to a large extent the manner in which one plays, the kind of house one lives in, the hours one keeps, the minimum amount of schooling one must have, one's relation to members of the opposite sex, the treatment of one's children - those are a few examples of the restrictions which society places upon the individual.<sup>1</sup>

In brief, the institution, on finding itself possessing untold power, set out to increase itself by crushing those for whom it was established, and the price of preserving the institution at the expense of the principle means the destruction of the principle.

The institution, gorged with the individuals it has crushed, and lost in the glare of its own flame, has created a society of mechanism, standardization, and of mass production. It produced an enormous machine with itself at the center, as the source of all strength and recognition. The effect of institutions on the individual is brought out by Leighton:

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1. Wells, George R., Social Restraint, pp.2-3.



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1. Wells, George F., Social Psychology, pp. 2-3.



America has gone in wholeheartedly for mass production and standardization. There is indifference, if not positive hostility, to distinction, to marked individuality and variety. Everything is being standardized - manners - dress - amusements, recreation, literature, the drama, art, education, and opinion. We have produced the fastest moving (in the mechanical and economic sense) and physically most prosperous and comfortable civilization extant, the most common school, one of the most literate and perhaps one of the most poverty-stricken in mental and spiritual creativeness.<sup>1</sup>

When any institution so controls the lives of individuals, it leaves them without those abilities by which we have come to recognize individuals, abilities by which the individual advances. It has taken from man the creative urge; it has placed him in a world which is a mold out of which all individuals are destined to come. When the individual finds his education mapped out for him, discovers his faith dictated to him, and his power in the government (if he is an ordinary citizen) nothing but a gesture, he becomes like other individuals, he takes things for granted, looks to the institution for help and in turn becomes, as Leighton says, "stricken in mental and spiritual creativeness."

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Leighton, J. The Individual and the Social Order, p.212



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a vision of the vast mechanism of society realizes his own insignificance. He lives his little round of duties according to order, - a little cog in the system - and when he has finished his life the great social machinery sweeps on without him, and is replaced by another cog - yet he is the material out of which systems are built, the source of power whence organizations spring, the germ of life that perpetuates the generations. This little human dynamo has the capacity to receive and transmit power that comes from God and he is the initial unit through which it may be transmitted in human achievement.<sup>1</sup>

It is the intention of the institution to keep the individual submerged, for by keeping him in such a condition it is able to maintain its own safety. The institution does not forget individuals who have risen against it in the past: a Martin Luther, a Karl Marx, a Ferdinand Lassalle, and a Michael Bakunin. The institution has performed this task so well that the individual is made to feel insignificant, a cog in a vast machine.

The institution in time creates a condition wherein the individual comes unconsciously to identify the dictates of his own conscience with the demands of the institution. When the individual reaches that state in which he regards the beliefs and ideals of the institution as his own, the door of hope for his own

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1. Blackman, F.W. Justifiable Individualism, p.14.







emancipation is automatically closed.

From the institutional point of view a dogma exists to be believed, a law is on the statute books to be enforced, a belief must find support in the existing facts. So long as this view is maintained, rather than the pragmatic notion that the value of the institution lies in the furthering of human interest, the facilitating of needed adjustments and the elimination of friction, the moral life will be sacrificed to the institution.<sup>1</sup>

The process of institutionalization has been so subtle that the individual may flatter himself that he is exercising his own sovereign moral will, while in reality he merely wills what the institution wishes him to will. The deadening of man's creative ability, his desire to strive for his own has been a long process, unconscious on the part of the individual to such an extent that the average individual does not believe that the condition exists. He has grown up in it; he has seen nothing else; he has known no other condition; consequently he endures the entire situation with little opposition. He desires no creative urge, no opportunity to be himself for he is ignorant of anything except the submerged condition under which he has so unwillingly developed.

The private citizen today has come to feel rather like a deaf spectator

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1. Mecklin, Introduction to Social Ethics, p.242.



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I. M. Wilson, Introduction to Social Engineering, p. 11.



in the back row, who ought to keep his mind on the mystery off there, but who cannot quite manage to keep awake. He knows he is somehow affected by what is going on. Rules and regulations continually, taxes annually, and wars occasionally remind him that he is being swept along by great drifts of circumstance.<sup>1</sup>

This is expressed in a different manner thus:

An unorganized society is an important society. A highly organized society feels almost omnipotent. But all this is likely to be very hard on the individual. It leaves little room for initiative. It crushes out individuality. It is likely to leave human eyes dull and heavy with no sense of eternity shining in their depths. Organization gives efficiency to a man's hand. It can scarcely be said<sup>2</sup> that it puts eternity into the heart.

No institution is good in itself, but only in the service of human life. It is good to the extent that it upholds the cause of society, the development of the individual, and the keeping and maintaining of the principle for which it was established. It is the mechanism of society, and it is good or bad according to the ends it served. The average institution of today must be made to realize that the individual is dependent upon it above everything else, because the institution represents the accumulated wisdom of

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1. Lippman, Walter, The Phantom Public, p.13.

2. Blackmon, Justifiable Individualism, p.31.







the nation and of the race. It is the institution and not the individual that provides the norm for measuring values. It must resist the temptation to take advantage of such opportunities; it should feel that the individual is the cause of its existence. The institution is more than "the shadow of one man," it is the thought of generations; the lives of many men. Because it is traditional and affiliated with the past, it is dogmatic and authoritative.

The increase of power, through the growth of organized production (institutions\* and distribution of material good and the corresponding financial power of those who reap huge profits by catering to the wants and crude pleasures of the uncultured, unthinking mass, especially in the fields of journalism and amusements, tend towards more and more mediocrity, towards low standards in education, public service, and public taste. This mass production moves with acceleration towards the obliteration of excellence in all aspects of our cultural life, except the physical, in art, letters, science, education unless it be checked and led by an increasing proportion of capable and highminded individuals who recognize their duty to serve and who are recognized by the mass. Without the discovery and placement in position of those individuals who are fit to lead, we shall all become mass-puppets, dancing to the tunes enjoyed by a vulgar herd of sensuous human beings.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Leighton, G. The Individual and Education, p.17.











CHAPTER ONE

INSTITUTIONS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM



The preceding statements have not been made without a knowledge of the fact that some proof of their validity is necessary. To bear out the truth as stated in the Introduction this thesis will endeavor to bring out definite facts as they are to be found in connection with a few of the larger institutions, which, in present day life, are having the greatest influence on the individual and society.

One of the oldest institutions that man established and allowed to rule over his activities was the state. This institution should have been estab-

THE STATE AND THE  
INDIVIDUAL

lished "for the people, of the  
people, and by the people."

It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of freedom to say that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed; but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right entered into a compact with each



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other to produce a government, and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to be established; and the only principle on which they have a right to exist.<sup>1</sup>

Such a relationship between the individual and the government should exist today. It should be the basis upon which the government works. There should be more of a partnership feeling between them. Of course,

the concentration of population which has taken place within two generations in the United States, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac, has made necessary the free use of collective forces for the protection and service of the concentrated population, and many individualistic rights and habits have been impaired or modified in view of imperative collective needs. The concentration of population has forced the government to assume many new functions, to increase public expenditures, and therefore taxes, and to interfere frequently with individual rights formerly considered very precious.<sup>2</sup>

Such conditions are to be expected and as governments become more complicated, individual liberties will be imposed upon in order that the individual may be better able to enjoy other liberties. Nevertheless we should follow:

- 
1. Paine, Thomas, "Rights of Man," from The Political Writings of Thomas Paine, Vol. II, pp. 75.
  2. Eliot, Charles, Conflict Between Individualism and Collectivism, p. 8.



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1. John, Thomas, "Rights of Man," from the Political  
Principles of Thomas Paine, Vol. II, pp. 1-10.
2. John, Thomas, "Political Rights of Man," from  
the same, pp. 1-10.



Jefferson's fundamental doctrine (which) was the political and economic value of individual liberty - the pursuit of happiness was the right of every human being, and in that pursuit he had a right to be let alone, provided he did not interfere with other people's pursuit of happiness.<sup>1</sup>

"The individual must not be crowded out of the race because of his stature, but in a free field he must be allowed to run his course faced by no artificial restraint, and at the end he must have his full share of the substance and sustenance of life meted out to all those who run, and in a just proportion to his contribution to the victory."<sup>2</sup>

We cannot find this existing within our own government. The fundamental doctrine is not political and economic value of individual liberty. No government is based on a charter from the Lord; it should be based on a social compact as stated by Thomas Paine. If it is based on that social compact it strives to let every individual have voice and representation in the government to which he is subjected. No one need belong to the church if he is not in harmony with its doctrines. The state offers no such alternative of withdrawal or free acceptance..You are compelled to be a member under its power, because in such a condition the state should

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1. Eliot, Charles, The Conflict between Individualism and Collectivism, p.6.
2. Bomden, R.D., The Evolution of a Politician, p.245.



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If it is based on that social compact it survives to let  
every individual have voice and representation in the go-  
vernment to which he is subjected. No one need belong to  
the church if he is not in harmony with its doctrines.  
The state offers no such alternative of withdrawal or  
free association. You are compelled to be a member under  
its power, because in such a condition the state should

1. Elmer, Charles, The Conflict Between Individualism  
and Collectivism, p. 10.  
2. Webster, R.D., The Evolution of a Nation, p. 142.



feel a greater responsibility for the individual welfare.

After a survey of conditions in our own country one asks in what way the individual enters into the scheme of things. I believe in democracy, I believe that some form of law is essential for the protection of the individual freedom, but I do not believe that any state is compelled to crush the individual power of voice and vote, as is the situation here in America.

Law is to be regarded as an amelioration of social pressure. Without it society would be far worse off than now. But it always has the tendency to multiply its enactments, and a certain illogic argues that one law is as sacred as another. The truth is that no law is sacred, that some are wise and others less wise.<sup>1</sup>

The Old Town meeting which exists in some parts of rural New England is the nearest approach to democracy and state government that we have. America has gravitated to large cities where such meetings are impossible. Nevertheless there must be some change made in the present trend of representation. We have two large political parties plus one or two small ones. They hold a convention every year, at which only a small representation of the people are present. Here are appointed the candidates for the next president

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1. Wells, Geo.W., Individuality and Social Restraint, p.205.



and a government that is not the government of the people.

After a long and arduous struggle, the people have at last won the right to elect their own representatives to the National Assembly.

The people have elected a National Assembly which is composed of representatives from all parts of the country.

The National Assembly has elected a President and a Vice-President, and has also elected a Council of Ministers.

The National Assembly has also elected a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker, and has also elected a Committee of Enquiry.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Investigation, and has also elected a Committee of Audit and Accounts.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Accounts, and has also elected a Committee of Public Works.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Health, and has also elected a Committee of Public Education.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Safety, and has also elected a Committee of Public Order.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Welfare, and has also elected a Committee of Public Assistance.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Justice, and has also elected a Committee of Public Security.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Peace, and has also elected a Committee of Public Harmony.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Prosperity, and has also elected a Committee of Public Progress.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Power, and has also elected a Committee of Public Wealth.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Fame, and has also elected a Committee of Public Honor.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Glory, and has also elected a Committee of Public Splendor.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Grandeur, and has also elected a Committee of Public Majesty.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Nobility, and has also elected a Committee of Public Royalty.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Divinity, and has also elected a Committee of Public Sanctity.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Holiness, and has also elected a Committee of Public Piety.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Virtue, and has also elected a Committee of Public Honor.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Integrity, and has also elected a Committee of Public Rectitude.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Justice, and has also elected a Committee of Public Equity.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Fairness, and has also elected a Committee of Public Reason.

The National Assembly has also elected a Committee of Public Wisdom, and has also elected a Committee of Public Knowledge.



of the United States. When election time comes, the public has to vote for one of three people or not at all. The same holds true for state senators, representatives, and so on down the line. The individual is told from whom to choose, his candidate is picked for him.

It would be a waste of words to expatiate on the meaninglessness of present political platforms, parties, and issues. The old-time slogans are still reiterated, and to a few these words still seem to have a real meaning. But it is too evident to need argument that on the whole our parties, as far as they are not covertly manipulated in behalf of the pecuniary advantages of groups, are in a state of confusion, issues are improvised from week to week with a constant shift of allegiance. It is impossible for individuals to find themselves politically with surety and efficiency under such conditions. Political apathy broken by recurrent sensations and spasms to the natural outcome.<sup>1</sup>

Every year Congress is faced with thirty thousand bills or more. To take care of these bills it has committees of four and five members. These committees have the power to kill bills, to change them, lay them on the table, and to present to Congress only those which are agreeable to the committee. Congress is in fact made up of five men, and the chairman

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1. Dewey, John, "Individualism, Old and New," The New Republic, Vol. LXI, 5, 1930. p. 295.



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of any one of the committees may control any bill that comes into his hands. In practically every case, the chairman of the committee is under the control of big men - company bosses. The people are forgotten while the economic demand of the large corporations sway the progress of the bill.

The legislative affairs of the government, which are the vital public affairs of the country, are directed by outside organizations working directly upon the legislators - the congress. Individual politics and politicians have been organized out of existence .....We are organized to suffocation outside of congress to influence congress, and to submission inside of congress by men who fear for their own political futures and are made cowards by these organizations.<sup>1</sup>

Properly to relate the conditions of the individual and his relation with the state is impossible but without any question the individual's voice is the voice "crying in the wilderness."

Nations! What are nations? Tartars! and Huns! and Chinamen! Like insects they swarm. The historian strives in vain to make them memorable. It is for want of a man that there are so many men. It is individuals that populate the world.<sup>2</sup>

It is the task of the state to protect the liberty of the individual, to safeguard his rights, to

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1. Blythe, Samuel, "The Evolution of a Politician," Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 25, 1922.
  2. The Heart of Thoreau's Journal, Ed. by Odell Shepard, p. 63.



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Religion, that are national, national  
and local, and religious, live inside  
they matter. The historical studies  
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1. Mythical, Symbolic, The Evolution of a Religion.  
Continental Evening Post, Vol. 12, 1912.
  2. The Heart of Thomas's Journal, Vol. 1, 1912.  
Continental Evening Post, Vol. 12, 1912.



allow every individual freedom to the extent that he does not interfere with the freedom of others. The state goes beyond its object and purpose when it commences to lay down laws that interfere with individual liberty, when such liberty, if granted, would not harm any other individual. Such is true in our own government when men are not allowed free speech without permission, or without being thrown into prison. We have reached a state wherein one cannot be too radical in his belief without running the danger of being labelled an undesirable, a radical, or a bolshevik. Free press has been withdrawn from individual freedom along with many similar acts wherein an individual should be allowed freedom. This is well set forth in the following:

The central principle of our system of government is in the proposition that every man has a right to full and complete individual liberty, limited only be the equal liberty of every other man. From that right all others are deduced; the right to life, to property, to the pursuit of happiness, are its corollaries. Our whole system of law is in its essence only, the enforcement of the reciprocal limitations of individual liberty. It is compulsory upon me to limit my liberty by yours and you to limit your liberty by mine. The justification of all laws and customs which constrain human conduct is that they are necessary and appropriate for the preservation



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his belief without running the danger of being labelled  
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The central principle of the system  
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are released; the right to life, to  
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of the liberty of others.....Whatever law passes beyond that limit and seeks to impose upon the individual the ideas of others as to what his conduct should be, whether to subserve the interests of others or to conform to their prejudices or to their ideas of propriety or wisdom, even though these others may constitute an overwhelming majority of the whole community, is a violation of the principle upon which our government was formed, is not the just exercise of government power but is essential tyranny.<sup>1</sup>

So long as the individual is tied to the chariot wheels of an institution called the state, as we know it today, wars will not cease, people will be compelled to kill one another. Individual liberty will never exist. There must be a change towards that policy laid down by Elihu Root:

In dealing with the state, we ought to remember that its institutions are not aboriginal; they are not superior to the citizen. That every one of them was once the act of a single man.<sup>2</sup>

It seems logical that the church should be considered next, the growth and power of which was mentioned along with the state in the first part of this study. The church holds a place equal to that of the state in the act of using the individual for the attainment of its own glory.

THE CHURCH AND THE  
INDIVIDUAL

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1. Root, Elihu, Address of Government and Citizenship, p.540
  2. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, "Politics," Essays and Poems, p.247.



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The Christian church started out as a group of very humble persons, including many slaves in its ranks. Their humbleness determined their ideals.....The most amazing group modification in history is that whereby a humble and unimportant group of the second century, became the arrogant, wealthy and powerful Christian church of the mediaeval centuries. The process was exactly that which is to be observed in very new group developments, increase in size and solidity bringing with it an increase of power. Almost inevitably such a development means an increase in conservation. And the Christian church reveals in its history exactly that alteration in viewpoint. Originally strongly opposed to the existing social order (though hoping to change it only in another life beyond the grave) it gradually became the defender of the status quo, the upholder of and apologist for social distinctions. Even to the present day the existing social situation with its various failures in social justice, finds its most sincere defenders in the membership of the religious groups, both Protestant and Catholic.<sup>1</sup>

The church, "organized for the purpose of the regeneration of man,...developed a powerful machinery for institutional growth and protection. Having acquired power it assumed authority over both spiritual and temporal affairs and went so far in its control of the destinies of man as to assume authority over the individual conscience. Thus the individual conscience became

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1. Wells, George R. Individuality and Social Restraint, p.128



The Christian church started out as a group of very humble persons, in- cluding many slaves in its ranks. Their humbleness is reflected in their ideals. . . . The most striking group modification in history is that whereby a humble and uneducated group of the second century, known as the apostles, wealthy and powerful Christian church of the 16th century. The process was exactly that which is to be observed in very new group development, increase in size and ability bringing with it an increase of power. Almost invisibly such a development seems to increase in cooperation. And the Christian church reveals in its history exactly that alteration in values which originally opposed to the existing social order, though hoping to change it only in another life beyond the grave, it gradually became the defender of the status quo, the upholder of and apologists for social distinctions. Even to the present day the existing social structure with its various failures in social justice, finds its best and most effective defenders in the members of the religious groups, both Protestant and Catholic.

The church, "organized for the purpose of the regeneration of man . . . developed a powerful machinery for institutional growth and protection. Having acquired power it assumed authority over both spiritual and temporal affairs and went so far in its control of the activities of man as to assume authority over the individual conscience. Thus the individual conscience became



absorbed in the will of the church. Individual thought and independence of religious action thus became stifled, and the church assumed a monopoly of religion and of moral standards."<sup>1</sup>

The most menacing groups are the Catholics and the so-called Fundamentalists, who have much in common, particularly in the direction of their backward look as the seat of authority. In one case the source of inspiration and authority is an organization; in the other it is the series of documents gathered into the Bible. But the hopes and aims of both groups, if successful, would introduce ideas and ideals of the mediaeval centuries into the twentieth century, and bringing in their train, untold confusion and disaster.

The Catholic church and some of the present Protestant denominations appear at this time to be none other than human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, to monopolize power and profit. The church has thrown around the figure of Jesus dogmas and creeds to such an extent that it has lost sight of the real Jesus. They have made Mary the Virgin and Jesus the unnatural Son of God. And then they demand that all church members should believe that which the church itself has established. Some churches, as the Catholic,

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1. Mecklin, Introduction to Social Ethics, p.242.



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1. Maxwell, Introduction to Social Religion, p. 242.



request their members to come to the church for all religious and theological interpretations. The Catholics believe that no one who is not a member of their church in good standing can hope for admittance into Heaven. This means that all his sins must have been confessed, and that there is someone who is able to pay his entrance fee to the priest.

Each church lays too much emphasis upon its own individual ritual. The Baptist requires that every one of its members shall be baptized by immersions; sprinkling is wholly inadequate for entrance into the sacred portals of the church.

The Methodist requires all its members to answer "I do," for the following:

And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic church, the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body, the forgiveness of sins, and everlasting life after death?<sup>1</sup>

Without such a belief, one is considered unfit for membership in the church.

It is true that one is not compelled to unite with the church. But the church has forced itself upon the individual, in many respects made itself appear as the key to everlasting life; the one insti-

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1. Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p.554, 1928.



...to the church for all  
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upon the individual, in many respects and in many  
aspects as the key to everlasting life; the one last-



tution of God; which many individuals feel they must join if they desire to confess their faith in God, the Father. So the institution known as the church has been able to secure its members.

Each church has its peculiar characteristics which do not allow the individual to be faithful to himself, and it is impossible to calculate the amount of moral mischief that such mental lying has produced in society.

The church must awake to the fact that the individual is the key to the future kingdom of God; that petty beliefs and dogmas, which have made the church a strong institution in the past, and which have made it appear as the messenger of God, will not continue to glorify it in the future. We are finding a reaction, among some individuals, to the overruling attitude of the church. They are losing their reverence for the church as a saving institution. They regard it as a very necessary institution to modern religious, moral, and social development, but in their own minds they are reducing it from a traditional to a working basis. It is all because we cannot breathe under so low a ceiling, for we are controlled by ideas, not machinery. We want to dream, we want to weave our own thoughts, we want to



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to break, we want to leave our own thoughts, we want to



love the beauty of the skies, we want to feel still that somewhere beyond lies the eternal home. The church has come to a critical time when it must meet with a new and sustained acceptance of individual responsibility. The church has thought too much of creed and too little of men.

There are a few churches who have come to realize that their value does not lie in number or size, but in service rendered to mankind. Consequently they have changed their policy and are now trying to find out which is the best way in which they might serve the individual. The church did not change soon enough, however, nor were there many to see the need of this change; the individual could not wait and other organizations grew to take over the work that the church should be handling. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., and other similar organizations have become of an immense size in a short period of time. If they do not guard themselves more carefully, they too will be guilty of the same things of which the church was and is guilty. For in their rush for size and prominence, they are forgetting the individual. The success in reaching definite budgets and the assurance that they are pleasing their benefactors has sometimes overshadowed the thought of the



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individual.

Of all the institutions that should be most responsible for the individual development and desires, the foremost should be the educational institution. It

EDUCATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL should be the principle of our educational system to fit the individual into the social life he is to live. But it would seem that school administrators are working out the economy of instruction, and have developed machinery based on the assumption that all minds are alike and should have the same training, to fit them for different positions in life.

Education.....is a method of preparing persons to understand problems and to find solutions. That, at leaset, is its proper function. But, like religion, the education process has all too often been prostituted to serve base purposes. It has been made the defender and the supporter of the status quo and nothing more, in not a few communities. To accomplish this end it has, not infrequently, maltreated and deformed human nature. But it is capable, under favorable auspices, of enlightening and inspiring human intelligence, and to do this is its proper function.<sup>1</sup>

If it is true that, in our attempt to educate everybody on the samelevel, we are not helping but are actually hindering the small intelligent group from developing their abilities, we are headed for social

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1. Wells, George R.; Social Restraint, p.239.







disaster. If it be true that the tendency of present education is to lower the exceptionally gifted child to the level of the mediocre child, what we are tending to is the drying up of the sources of intellectual and social leadership in a civilization, the growing complexity of which calls for able leadership; and we are not making the mediocre class fit even to be desirable followers.

One cannot deny that such holds true, for our educational policy is to throw the students into one room, give them the same studies, the same amount of time for learning, and then promote them to the next grade. Throughout our entire school system we run on a mass production style, not giving enough thought to individual differences, likes and dislikes. The very intelligent child is held back too frequently by the poor student. And the poor student is too often sent ahead without sufficient grasp of the material studied. Physical handicaps, economical handicaps, mental abnormalities, and other differences are not taken into consideration. Upon reaching High school the student has two choices, sometimes three: college course, general course, or business course. But if he hopes to continue his studies he must indulge in Latin, French, and subjects which he will forget as soon as the last examination has been taken. His creative abilities are held



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down, his desire for experimentation is thwarted on every side, he is told that he must do a certain thing, and how it must be done. Education is at present an arch sinner against the principle of human diversity. The rigid curriculum of study has been a Moloch to which personal tastes have been sacrificed.

One of the most pernicious theories that lurks in American education: the assumption that, where the great Creator failed to make all human beings equal, it is the business of the school to make them equal. To justify this procedure, the school men have found cover in the notion that this task works toward a democratic ideal; that it is necessary for the successful operation of educational machinery, that it is good for the lowly individual; that the procedure is justified by results.<sup>1</sup>

Society has a very strong reason for demanding the education of the individual; for his desires and ambitions have not reached such a height that he will grasp such an opportunity without compulsion; consequently society, out of respect to its own welfare and protection, took such a move. The move was in the right direction, but society must give a wider range in the education which it forces upon its individuals. The individual qualities of the pupil should be discovered and developed. The child should be encouraged to do an amount of work corresponding to his ability.

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1. Seashore, Carl E., "The Individual in Mass Education," School and Society, May 8, 1926, Vol. XXIII, p.569.



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will grasp such an opportunity without compensation; nor  
naturally enough, not of reward for his own welfare  
and protection, but for a more. The more that is in  
this direction, but society must give a wider range  
to the education which it forces upon its individuals.  
The individual qualities of the youth should be dis-  
covered and developed. The child should be encouraged  
to do an amount of work corresponding to his ability.



Mere passive absorption by the pupil is not enough. He should be encouraged to do collateral reading and compare viewpoints, encouraged to develop his own ideas and arguments upon the subjects studied. The pupil must be urged to develop his creative abilities and given more opportunity for experiential expression.

That American fetish "the average" has entered American education and individuality tends to be lost... I believe we must emphasize the individual rather than the group, in the character forming efforts of the college. The crucible which forms character makes only one product at a time.<sup>1</sup>

Education must tend away from mass production to the recognition of individual differences of pupils, an adjustment of the curriculum to the native instincts and needs. It must turn from quantity to quality education. It must recognize the superior abilities and put them in touch with opportunities. It must enhance individual responsibility and free the individual for real service.

The democratic idea of education is that the whole business of education shall be so conducted as to afford to every child a full opportunity to realize his personality, as a member of society; to develop, exercise, and enjoy his fundamental human capacities; and, by so doing, to play his individual part in the life of society.<sup>2</sup>

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1. McConaughy, James L., "Individuality and Uniformity in Education," School and Society, June 27, 1925, p.357
  2. Leighton, J., Individuality and Education, p.10.



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The true aim of education in all its forms should be to aid the growing individual to become self-directing, socially minded, one able to satisfy his fundamental interests and live in cooperation and fellowship with other persons.

A point of education, that I can never too much insist upon is this tenet, that every individual man has a bias which he must obey, and that it is only as he feels and obeys this that he rightly develops and attains his legitimate power in the world. It is his magnetic needle, which points always in one direction to his proper path, with more or less variation from that of any other man. He is never happy nor strong until he finds it, keeps it, learns to be at home with himself; learns to watch the delicate hints and insights which come to him, and to have the entire assurance of his own mind.<sup>1</sup>

If society expects to receive full returns for the educational institution which it has established, it must recognize and provide for these individual urges, individual talents, and abilities.

The life of the community is successful just in so far as it is constituted by a multitude of diverse individuals, each employing and enjoying his own aptitudes in the service of the whole.....Mass education means standardization on a low level and this means loss of a rich diversity of interests, activities, and achievements; as well as the defeat of the promise of each separate young life, with its own distinctive flavor

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1. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, "Greatness," Works, Vol.IV,p.249



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lost in the common stew.....the growing individual is a dynamic being whose true destiny is to achieve and enjoy the continuous integration of his own capacities as a contributing member of the community.<sup>1</sup>

Education must provide for this individual an opportunity for development along many lines, and in so doing it will build up more worthy individuals for community service.

The most recent institutional development that has had a great effect upon the individual has been the industrial institution. With weird speed it has succeeded in changing the course of human events, ushering in an entirely new era in the life of man. It has changed the life of the individual as no other single power ever did in so short a period.

INDUSTRY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

When we glance about us today, and see life travelling at a very rapid rate of speed; when we take into consideration the enormous amount of work placed in controls of machinery, and stop to consider the increased rate of speed which we will be travelling tomorrow, it is very hard to understand a period in life when men spent their entire life on one great painting; or on a figure carved from marble; a time when man

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1. Loughton, Joseph, Individuality and Education, p.100.



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when men spent their entire life on one great project;  
or on a single career from cradle to grave; a life spent in



worked with his own tools, sold his own product, and created things according to his own imagination. The carpenter would make a chest for the silversmith; the silversmith a cup for the carpenter, and they wrought in sympathy. The individual felt great pride in a well finished product and was free to do what he desired with the results of his labor.

Such a situation existed for the average man until the nineteenth century. At that time, machinery was a myth, a dream of foolish men. In 1776 James Watt perfected a crude steam engine that would produce power. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, and in 1821 Michael Faraday started an experiment which today produces fifty million horsepower, in the form of electricity, in the United States alone. Such machines as these and millions others were destined to change human progress, the character of society, and the standard of the individual.

As these inventions were made increasingly profitable, and produced more products than the individual could produce by hand, and as they demanded more individuals to run them, society gradually clustered around the location of the factory and the shop. The individual craftsmanship became mechanized, his work



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became standardized, and he found that it was impossible to compete with the growing "Iron Horse." He was compelled to go where the machinery was located; learn to control it, to be its master, later to become its slave.

The history of inventions and the evolution of machinery cannot be entered into fully but its results upon society and the individual, which can be seen everywhere, find a place in this thesis. Civilization s have grown up around it, and have accepted it as the great god of Self-preservation. By placing so much faith in machinery and trusting it to such an extent, civilization finds itself completely dependent upon it. Civilization has invented that which will, if the machine is not guided correctly, become the master.

Throughout the growth of machinery one cannot escape the fate of the individual. His work has been taken over, to a great extent, by the "Iron Horse." Where ten men worked one may work, where a hundred worked, three may now produce the same amount of products; better made and in less time. The individual was forced to sacrifice, for manufacturing on a large scale demands standardization, everything must be produced with exactness, and with the greatest possible speed. To such an extent that the individual must play only a small



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part in the act. His part must be that of a feeder, moving a certain level at a determined moment, placing a bolt in an exact place, driving home a hot rivet, watching a moving belt, or picking up a finished product. The machine has attained such perfection that the individual may no longer handle the most important task, the finest movements. He must do something that lacks the need of a fine judgment, it must be the coarse work. His individuality is gone, the machine has swallowed it up in the mad rush; leaving him a monotonous occupation, one of repetition, performing the same movements over and over until they become a habit and require no thought on the part of the individual. It allows the individual no opportunity for expression or creative work; the worker's mind may wander and drift, it is not compelled to stay on the job. The individual has become truly a cog in the machine, set to one simple task in the manufacturing of some product.

Stuart Chase, in The Man and the Machine, refers to the worker who had no idea why he drove wooden pegs in the holes as they passed by on an endless chain; so it is with the greater part of the workmen today. They know that a certain thing must be done at a certain time and that it is their duty to perform that act.



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They hardly ever know just what their part has to do with the finished product, in fact, they are given no reason to know and are not encouraged to find out.

The chief defect of capitalistic system is that work done for wages seldom affords any outlet for the creative impulse. The man who works for wages has no choice as to what he shall make. The whole creativeness of the process concentrates in the employer who orders the work to be done. For this reason the work becomes a merely external means to a certain result, the earning of wages. Employers.....do not permit the men whom they employ to have any share in the purpose for which the work is done. And so the process of production, which should form one instinctive cycle, becomes divided into separate purposes, which can no longer provide any satisfaction of instinct for those who do the work.<sup>1</sup>

When the individual is working he is no more nor less than a human machine, with a mind wondering over the many things of life.

Call him No.3141 - the man is not so much driven as paced; his usefulness depends upon his never failing the strident call of the Iron Man.

An unending repetition, he missed not one revolution of the wheels, which were grinding out his life. Economically he was part of the machine - an automatic feeder, which chanced to be flesh-and-blood-and-mind.<sup>2</sup>

We find in the Armour or the Swift Company, long endless belts on which are laid pigs; men are

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1. Russell, Bertrand, Why Men Fight, pp.145-146.
  2. Pound, Arthur, The Iron Man of Industry.



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can no longer provide any satisfaction  
of lasting for those who do the work.

When the individual is working he is no more an individual  
than a man working with a blind repeating key the many  
things of life.

Call him Mr. X - the man is not so  
much driven as pushed. His usefulness  
depends upon his never failing the  
constant call of the boss. He is  
an unending repetition, he is  
not the revolution of the wheel, which  
were grinding out his life. Economical-  
ly he was part of the machine - an  
automatic factor, which cannot be  
replaced without stoppage.

We find in the Army or the Navy Company

long endless belts on which are laid pipe; and are

1. Russell, Raymond, The New York Times, 1915-1916.  
2. Pound, A. C. S., The Life of the Machine.



stationed at exact intervals, beside the belt, with cleaver in hand; and, as the pig goes along, each individual brings down, in his turn, the sharp cleaver, cutting just so deep, at an exact place on the carcass and for a definite length; no more, no less. Then the cleaver ascends and the next pig slides into place, and this individual proceeds to perform his predetermined function. The same condition exists in the automobile factories where the car bodies are assembled on endless chains, with each man performing the same act upon each body as it passes his station; placing a bolt in a certain hole, it goes to someone else who places the nut on the bolt, and to still another, whose task it is to set it. Man is earning a living, he is not making it. Man is turning from active performer to passive listener. He is fastly becoming standardized with the machine.

Inventions and technology continue to supplant muscle and the cunning hand of the master craftsman by batteries of tireless iron men doing narrowly specialized things over and over and merely 'operated' or 'tended' in their orderly clangorous repetitive process by the human worker.<sup>1</sup>

His pride for paternity has gone, for the piece of work is no longer his own. And his work is directed to an end that does not appeal to him. In fact his own in-

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1. Lynnd, R.A. and H.M. Middletown, p.39.



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His pride for ownership has gone. For the place of work  
 is no longer his own. And his work is directed to an  
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tellekt is lost out of sight. It is difficult for him to feel that his activity is directed to an end complete in itself, in which quality counts. This is the reason why society will find it more difficult to deal with him, for it will be hard to make his sense of self-respect keep pace with his growing enlightenment on the question of what life ought to be.

As machinery becomes more automatic, and that is the law of its development, the situation becomes worse. Man without a working hand becomes a different and a lower organism. He loses independence and self reliance; he is readily subjected to regimentation and discipline. His sense of personal liberty is absorbed; his sensibilities blunted and debased. His only standards are for qualities which are esthetically bad but mechanically unavoidable. He becomes a watcher and listener rather than a creator, a second-hand man.

One may try to dismiss this by saying it only holds true for about eight percent of the working class and consequently it is not worth bothering about, for after all, it gives work to the moron type. If this were true society should feel that it was its duty to raise the standard of such people, and give them a chance to learn how to express themselves and not continue to be a burden upon society because of the sterility of



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their minds. But machinery does not stop with the eight percent found working in the factory itself. That is only the beginning. Machinery has brought a very large percent of society within its control. It has become so implanted in the realm of society that society has lost a great deal of desired freedom and finds itself fast becoming the slave of machinery.

The secretary and stenographer are cogs in the machine. They typewrite with minds adrift, their work is immaterial to them. It is not creative on their part, and requires only physical energy, except when the machine clogs. The car conductor is only aware of his work when some strange experience takes place, some new situation arises. Except for this he is a cog in the machine, doing what his work calls for, because there is a living in it. He is waiting, as are the rest, for the time to stop. That is his one real thought throughout the day.

Though there is ample evidence that among all peoples, in some early or pre-civilization period, life appeared as worth living, and work as something attractive and enjoyable, yet there is no doubt that in the later centuries the conditions of industry have ingrained into man's mind an opposite view. If any enthusiast today were to descend into one of our big towns, and, standing at the street corner, to preach to the passer-by about the pleasures of work, or to urge them to the easy task of making life 'really enjoyable and beautiful' the



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the conditions of humanity have changed.  
It is not a matter of degrees, it is  
a matter of kind. It is a matter of  
kind of his nature, and, standing at  
the great moment, he is not the same  
as he was the moment of birth, or to  
live time to the very end of living life  
truly noble and beautiful.



crowd would, I fear, putting their thumbs to their ears, break out in scornful laughter or perchance, turning on the speaker, would stone him, with stones, even as they stoned Stephen in Jerusalem when he saw in a vision the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God.<sup>1</sup>

"The unrest of today is a cry for the recognition of human personality, sadly outraged by our industrial system, where profits and financial advancement rather than human welfare are regarded as the supreme value of values, to be secured at all costs."<sup>2</sup>

The machine has taken away from individuals their expressional opportunity; it furnished them little recognition; and in time, provided no new experience.

The workmen want a genuine say over the control of their life in the work shop. They want a taste of industrial power. They want the ability to express themselves creatively. They find in many basic industries of the country still unorganized that they are cogs in the wheel, attuned to the speed of the machine.<sup>3</sup>

The salvation of the individual must come through a change in the attitude of the institution. It is necessary that the individual be given a voice in the things of which he is a part; that he be recognized and made to feel that he is a necessary unit of society, and allowed an intelligent part interest in

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1. Carpenter, Edward, Towards Industrial Freedom, p.52.
2. The International Journal of Ethics, July, 1927, p.381.
3. Laidler, H. and Thomas, N., Prosperity, p.182.



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1. Carpenter, Edward, Towards Industrial Progress, p. 22.
2. The International Journal of Ethics, July, 1921, p. 281.
3. Ladd, H. and Thomas, W., Progressive, p. 122.



the trade at which he is working. It is the task of the forces of society to free him from the grip of machinery and industry, as an institution in society, to recognize the human element necessary for its progress.

Industry is an institution constructed by the will of man and for the happiness of man, which has risen to such a power that it is crushing the very soul from the body; creating a low average type, and continuing on its journey at a terrific rate of speed. Man must stop and think, grasp the present situation, strive to regain control of the "Iron Horse" which he so spurred on at one time. The individual must try to bring about some means of self-development or he will go under, stamped out by one of the most powerful institutions that he has created. The individual must educate himself to the situation, and realize that:

Modern life, with its technical arrangements of labour, its huge aggregations of human beings, its increased power of locomotion and its annihilation of distance, its complicated interrelations of individuals, its railways and its newspapers, tends strongly to wear down the distinctive traits of individuals and to produce a uniform and average type.<sup>1</sup>

As H.G.Wells has said, "it is a race between education and catastrophe." It is important that some

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1. Encyclopedia of Religions and Ethics, Ed. by Hastings, p. 208.



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social force should soon become conscious of such a race. For upon the results, the individual of tomorrow depends.

The relation between the individual and the family has been entirely different from that which exists with other institutions. The strong bonds that existed

#### THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

at the time when the family was patriarchal in nature - that is, when it was ruled by its oldest male

head, whose will was law - has gone through an evolutionary process, which has brought about a complete change within the family. The influence of institutions such as the state, the church, and industry, has played an important role in the disintegration of the family bonds. The church used its power to make the family a farce to those who became educated. Because of the church

asceticism gained an increasing hold in the minds of Christians and exerted a profound influence in opposition to marriage. This doctrine, of course, advocated the mortification of the flesh to secure the purification of the spirit, and taught that the ruthless suppression of all natural desires was the surest way to win the favor of God and eternal happiness hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

"It will be remembered that the Romans had regarded betrothal as a contract which might be broken without legal consequences.....at first Christianity accepted

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1. Goodsell, W. Problems of the Family, p.46.



social force should soon become conscious of such a  
fact. For upon the residue, the individual of tomorrow  
depends.

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I. Gosselin, W. Foulton of the family, p. 40.



the Roman view.....but in the last centuries of the Empire.....little by little the betrothal took on a legal value. So far did the Christian church proceed in the direction of regarding betrothal as a binding contract, only a little less sacred than marriage, that it was decreed that marriage with a betrothed woman in the lifetime of her first betrothal, constituted adultery."<sup>1</sup>

Although many good Christians did not seek the priestly benediction upon their marriage, yet such blessing was not essential to a valid marriage for many centuries. Indeed there is a total absence of any marriage ritual in Christian manuals at least up to the seventh centuries. By that time it cannot be doubted that the church was enforcing the priestly benediction as a fixed rule.<sup>2</sup>

The economic conditions that arose with the increase of industry brought about a breaking down of the family. Women went to work along with the men and in time they refused to look upon the husband as the source of the needs of life. They were not forced to marry in order to live, they were not compelled to remain married because of economical conditions. They became independent units.

The children were brought into working conditions and

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1. Goodsell, W. Problems of the Family, p.49.  
2. Ibid, p.50.



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according to the United States census of 1920 over one million children under fifteen years of age were gainfully employed. Of this army of child workers 378,063 were from ten to thirteen years of age.<sup>1</sup>

With so many members of the family working there was a loss of interest in each other, due to the fact that they were separated to such an extent. The home became a place in which exhausted workers snatched a few hours of sleep before returning to labor.

In turn, Parliament and other governing bodies enacted laws granting to wives entire control over their property. The married woman was granted absolute ownership of all property, that which belonged to her before marriage, and that property secured by her own labor or skill. She was given the right as an independent person before the law.

In various ways the woman was allowed an increased amount of freedom, all of which tended to make the family an institution of separate units, increasing in their independence. As freedom was granted to the wife, the law and power of the father was gradually lessened.

The father has perforce yielded much of his authority to the state, which has constituted itself an over-parent.

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1. Goodsell, W. Problems of the Family, p.127.



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In various ways the woman was allowed an increased amount of freedom, all of which tended to make the family an institution of separate units, independent in their independence. As freedom was granted to the wife, the law and power of the father was gradually lessened.

The father has performed much of his duty to the state, which has constituted itself an over-parent.



In its legislation against child labor and in behalf of the compulsory education of children; in its efforts to protect the child against parental cruelty; in its organization of asylums, institutions for defectives, boards of children's guardians, probation systems to deal with juvenile crime and recalcitrancy, the state has gone far in the direction of paternalism.<sup>1</sup>

It has been more of an acquiring of the individual by other institutions than a direct rebellion of the individual against the family. The church placed such a halo around marriage and the family that the individual refused to be involved. The state, because of necessity that arose with growing conditions, allowed the members of the family more freedom and recognition. Industry made every member of the family an independent unit, economically a unit by itself. So thorough the reaction of other institutions was, that the family lost control of the individual. I doubt very much whether the individual has really gained a great deal or whether his freedom from the family has not been devoured by these other institutions, which were, in part, responsible for the disintegration of the family.

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1. Goodsell, Problems of the Family, p.107.



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CHAPTER TWO

INSTITUTIONS STRIVING FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM



It is very evident that institutions vary in their purpose and in their modes of development. The church, state, family, and education grew out of the needs of the individual. They were a natural growth in answer to man's instinctive desires. The industrial institution grew out of man's ingenuity, his ability to use the forces of nature, to study the laws of God, and to harness them for his own use. Some institutions grew out of the reaction to institutions already established. Individuals recognizing the distressed conditions of their fellow-men under institutional suppression, determine to alter their predicament and establish an institution to offset the destructive influence.

Because of the reaction to the institutions already discussed, there arose three distinct lines of thought, or institutions, each determined to alter society, or to destroy some of the prominent forces within it, or to build up a power that would be able to dictate to other institutions. Each one of these: labor unions, anarchism, and socialism, have recognized the present condition of the individual and each one has definitely decided, in its <sup>own</sup> ~~won~~ manner, to place the individual in a situation where he can develop, use his creative



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desires, and obtain the freedom and liberty that is due him.

Labor organizations have been a necessary factor in the history of modern civilization. The breaking down of the Guild system, the development of power manufacturing, necessitating the building of great factories, and the helplessness of the individual in bargaining and defending himself against the heartless greed of the corporation made it necessary for the sake of survival, to organize.

#### LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

It was self-interest of the group, but humanitarian in its motive. It began as a human institution to obtain a living wage, to relieve the members of the misery of life caused by disease and poverty.<sup>1</sup>

Labor organizations and unions started out to give the employees a chance to express themselves, an opportunity to voice their troubles against the overbearing lordship of the industrial institution. The aim of these groups was to make the industries realize that the individual was a unit in himself, and could not be crushed, walked over and mutilated at the will of the boss.

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1. Blackman, F.W. Justifiable Individualism, p.94.



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Without doubt the unions and labor organizations have accomplished a great deal in the matter of bringing before the large corporations and before the public, the distressed condition of the working class. They have stirred up agitations, strikes, demonstrations, and other acts in order to make themselves felt. "Since April 9, 1928, 30,000 textile workers have been on strike in New Bedford, Massachusetts. They are striking against a wage cut."<sup>1</sup>

At Elizabethion, Tennessee, are two huge units of the rayon industry.....on Tuesday morning, March 12, about 550 in number, walked out on strike against low wages, and conditions in the industry.<sup>2</sup>

Their real help in aiding the individual to adjust his physical conditions and make his place felt in the present industrial movement cannot be questioned, but how have they helped the individual to develop his own individuality, to be able to depend more upon himself? to what extent have they developed within the individual the creative urge, the feeling that he is something apart from the corporation, from industry, from the group, that he has some individualistic qualities?

Each member of a union must reconcile himself to heavy losses of industrial liberty. Each workman must strike, for

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1. Green, William, American Federationist, July 1928, Vol.35, no.1, p.236.
2. Aymon, Paul, "Rayon Workers Strike," American Federationist, May, 1929, Vol.36, no.5, p.546.



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1. Green, William, American Industrialism, Vol. 1, 1932, Vol. 1, 1932.
2. Green, William, American Industrialism, Vol. 2, 1932, Vol. 2, 1932.



example, on vote of the majority of his union to do so, in spite of the fact that to cease to earn wages may involve heavy loss and sufferings to himself and his family. No union man can utilize an unusual skill or capacity he may possess to secure his own advancement. He cannot be eager or zealous at work, either in his employer's interest or in his own. He cannot be sure of bringing up his sons to his own trade.<sup>1</sup>

The only way for the employee to secure a raise of wages is through his union. The union makes it very difficult for him to pass from one class to another. One of man's greatest driving forces, the individualistic motive for personal improvement from day to day, is taken from him. Rapid workers and pace setters around him are outlawed. Apprenticeship is made unnecessarily long in order to keep down the number of journeymen. It stops the work of old men and dull slow youth who are not worth union wages, excepting for those times when there is unusual activity in their trades and it causes women to be practically excluded because they are not capable of attaining the union standard of the men.

The labor unions and organizations may have served a definite purpose. Undoubtedly they changed the industrial outlook on the individual; they have made the corporations realize his necessity; they have provided the individual with more freedom than he formerly enjoyed.

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1. Eliot, Charles, Conflict between Individualism and Collectivism, p.12.



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individual who were treated like the foreigner enjoyed.



But many of his individual characteristics have been transferred to another institution, convinced that in the end it will provide him with the greatest amount of liberty. The individual has sacrificed many of his characteristics to the institution, that started out to save him.

Unionism essentially means the sacrifice of one section of the laborers to another section. It means this in more than one sense; it means the setting aside of the individual for the sake of a common end; it means temptations to coerce; it means regulations, restrictions, and centralization with all the evils which flow from these fatal methods.....It not only surrounds a man with restrictions, which every frank person will admit to be evil, but it does much harm by disregarding natural variety, by tending to throw men into one class, and treating them as if they were all alike.<sup>1</sup>

The objection to labor unions and organizations as institutions for individual advancement is well summed up by F.W.Blackmon:

The organization has devoted itself too much to the purpose of building an institution and the surrender of fundamental principles of human life to the good of the order...It has lost much of its power for human justice. It has looked to its own interest with such zeal and loyalty to dictate wages and shorten hours, that it has forgotten the larger issues, of human justice that should have retained its support. Its vision has been limited to the bread earning proposition and it has forgotten the

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1. Herbert, A., The True Line of Deliverance, p.384,388.







larger issues of life. In the struggle to maintain the closed shop, it as an institution brought about a closed mind.<sup>1</sup>

The other two institutions which arose because of institutional indignation toward the individual, because of coercive measures used by such institutions as the state and the church, were socialism and anarchism. Each determined to better the conditions of the individual, to construct an institutional life wherein the individual would be best served; where the individual would find the greatest opportunity for his own development.

Socialism would say "we" while anarchism, the antithesis, would say "I." Socialism would say, let us

SOCIALISM work together, let us have more of state, more compulsory cooperation.

Anarchism would say, leave us alone; let there be less of state, with no interference. Let there be individual liberty.

Since liberty is the complement of law, it is impossible to understand liberty without understanding law. If the actions of individuals were so controlled and subordinated to the group as to leave no liberty whatever, we should have a state of absolute socialism. .... If, on the other hand, the welfare of the group as a whole is absolutely ignored, and there is no combined or organized

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1. Blackman, F.W. Justifiable Individualism, p.89.







action to interfere with the separate interests of the individuals composing it, then we have absolute anarchy.<sup>1</sup>

"Socialism is that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority a better distribution, and in due subordination thereunto a better production of wealth than now prevails."<sup>2</sup>

Socialism is the common ownership and democratic control of production and distribution.<sup>3</sup>

Socialism is a movement for collective, democratic control of industry and of social forces. A system whereby those who do the actual work secure the produced results. Every force in society will be run by the cooperative form of organization and every individual in that cooperation shall receive compensation according to the amount of work rendered and to his need. In this way socialism claims that it will produce a functional society where the returns will bear some relation to the production.

Socialism strives for a society in which products will be produced and distributed for use, not

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1. Dornesthorpe, Individualism: A System of Politics, pp.302,303.
2. Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.XXV, p.301.
3. Laidler, Harry, Lecture, Boston University School of Theology, February 19, 1930.



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1. Organization, Individualism & System of Politics  
pp. 102, 103.
2. Evolutionary Socialism, Vol. XIV, p. 101.
3. Politics, 1st Edition, 1901, University Council of  
Chicago, February 12, 1901.



for profit. Everything in society will be transferred from money as the criterion of success, to aid given to society as the criterion.

Socialism desires a strong central government with the control of industries and sources of income placed directly within its control.

Those forms of natural wealth which are considered necessary by the whole nation, including the monopolies of certain districts, such as mines, harbors, or sources of water supplies, should be nationalized. Even where land was owned by local bodies, those bodies should contribute to the national exchequer some proportion of the income. Voluntary associations should persist, as in the editing of journals of opinion, but perpetual rights should not be given to any association not coextensive with the community.<sup>1</sup>

"In any national plan of industry the ownership should be vested in the state. This is necessary for two reasons. It emphasizes where the ultimate incidence of control must rest. It enables us to insist that the producers in the industry are not entitled to regard it as existing solely for their benefit.....It emphasizes, also, that the surplus value created by the industry, over and above the cost in production and the distribution of the product to the ultimate consumer, belongs to the community as a whole.

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1. Laidler, Harry, History of Socialistic Thought, p.267.



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litarian consumer, belongs to the community as a whole.



We reject, that is to say, any purely syndicalist plan of industrial organization.....It confers a title to special privilege which is corrupting in its essence, even if their possessors believe that they will devote it to the noblest ends."<sup>1</sup>

As pointed out by Laidler, all income is controlled by the state, which in turn gives it out in proportions needed and in consideration of work rendered to society. The socialist theory is based on the assumption that all individuals will be willing to work for the benefit of society. Their aim in life will not be the individual self but society, therefore they will consent to let society decide to what extent they are worthy of reward for service rendered.

The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct to benevolence; all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence.<sup>2</sup>

"In a completely socialistic society, where the socialized undertakings have no longer to compete with capital, the great organizers will find no other fields of activity than the service of society. They will be obliged to reconcile themselves to receiving

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1. Laski, Harold J. Grammar of Politics, p.400.

2. Laidler, Harry, History of Socialistic Thought, p.269.







no better pay than other intellectuals. Despite this, striking achievements will not be a thing of the past either in art or in science, or the sphere of organization. The inner urge, ambition, delight in power, a reputation, will be sufficient incentives to such achievements."<sup>1</sup>

Socialism would furnish the individual direct suffrage by ballot, direct legislation, right of free speech and meeting. It would secularize all education, furnish working men an insurance policy and prohibit child labor. The socialistic movement is not without some very good suggestions. In time it would benefit the working class, tend to protect the unfortunate, and to prohibit the accumulation of wealth by a few.

The main question in the mind of the writer is: will socialism furnish the individual a better social condition? "The supreme argument, which socialists adduce in behalf of their faith is that only under socialism can mankind develop a high form of individual freedom."<sup>2</sup> Is it possible for socialism, to furnish a society that will restore the individual to his proper relationship with the institution?

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1. Laidler, Harry, History of Socialistic Thought, p.590.  
 2. Encyclopedia of Social Reforms, p.1270.



no better way than other intellectuals. Despite this, the existing movements will not be a thing of the past either in art or in science, or the sphere of social action. The inner urge, satisfied, will be a power, a reputation, will be sufficient incentives to such achievements."

Socialism would furnish the individual direct influence by ballot, direct legislation, right of free speech and meeting. It would secure all education, furnish working men an insurance policy and provide child labor. The socialistic movement is not without some very good suggestions. It also is a social benefit the working class, tend to protect the unfortunate, and to protect the accumulation of wealth by a few. The main question in the mind of the writer is will socialism furnish the individual a better social condition? The answer is yes, which socialists advance in behalf of their idea is that only under socialism can mankind develop a high form of individual freedom. It is possible for socialism to furnish a society that will restore the individual to his proper relationship with the individual.

ATTITUDE AGAINST SOCIALISM



By collective management and national control of production, the individual would soon become an instrument of society. It would tend to destroy individual independence, individual responsibility. The individual will always be more willing to work for himself than for society.

The cultivators would not work as intelligently or as energetically as they do under the incentive of private ownership. Beyond all other workers, the farmer is influenced by the desire to own and hold permanently the thing upon which and with which he labours.<sup>1</sup>

"Angry with the existing system under which each of us takes care of himself while all of us see that each has fair play, the socialist thinks, how much better it would be for all of us to take care of each of us, and he refrains from thinking of the machinery by which this is to be done. Inevitably, if each is to be cared for by all, then the embodied all must get the means - the necessities of life. What it gives to each must be taken from the accumulated contributions; and it must therefore require from each his proportion, must tell him how much he has to give to the general stock in the shape of sustentation. Hence, before he can be provided for, he must put himself under orders,

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1. Hillquit, M. and Ryan, J.H. Socialism, Promise or Menace, p.56.



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"Angry with the existing system under which each of us takes care of himself while all of us see that each has fair play, the socialist thinker, has much better it would be for all of us to take care of each of us, and he withdraws from thinking of the economy by which this is to be done. Inevitably, if each is to be cared for by all, then the embodied all must get the means - the necessaries of life. What it gives to each must be taken from the accumulated contributions, and it must therefore regulate from each its production. What each has to give to the general stock in the shape of contribution. Hence, before he can be provided for, he must put himself under orders.



and obey those who say what he shall do, and at what hours and where; and who shall give him his share of food, clothing, and shelter. If competition is excluded, and with it buying and selling, there can be no voluntary exchange of so much labour for so much produce; but there must be apportionment of the one to the other by appointed officers. This apportionment must be enforced. Without alternative, the work must be done, and without alternative the benefit, whatever it may be, must be accepted. For the worker may not leave his place at will and offer himself elsewhere."<sup>1</sup>

Socialism states that individuals would be free from bosses, superintendents, and captains of industry. But one must think of

the vast administration required for the distribution of all commodities to all people in every city, town, and village, which is now affected by traders! Imagine again, the still more vast administration required for doing all that farmers, manufacturers, and merchants do; having not only its various orders of superintendents, but its sub-centers, and chief centers needed for apportioning the quantities of each thing everywhere needed, and the adjustment of them to the requisite times. Then add the staff wanted for working mines, railways, roads, canals, etc.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Spencer, Herbert, From Freedom to Bondage, p.11  
 2. Ibid., p.18.



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to all people in every city, town,  
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more vast administration required for  
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various orders of superintendents, but  
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the adjustment of them to the requisite  
times. Then and the staff needed for  
working lines, railways, roads, canals,  
etc.



In the end the individual would find himself subjected to as many bosses, superintendents, and captains of industry and state as exist in our present society.

The individual would refuse to have others tell him to what extent he had been of benefit to society, and to what extent society should reward him for it. The individual would soon observe that payments could not be satisfactorily made on a labour time basis.

The socialistic theory of distribution proposes that men shall consume wealth according to their needs, not because they want to, but because the law allows it to them in the proportion, An obvious difficulty with the plan to distribute wealth by force of legal authority in proportion to need is the utter impossibility of comparing the relative needs of different individuals.....even more difficult than determining the relative needs of different individuals is that of determining their relative ability.<sup>1</sup>

Socialism would tend toward a society of uniformity; there would be a tendency toward uniform dress, uniform make of cars, uniform designs for houses. For such uniformity would bring about better economic conditions, and would guarantee the use of all products made. There would not be the waste that is now evident

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1. Carver, T.N., Essays in Social Justice, p.143.



In the end the individual would find himself subjected to as many losses, superintendence, and pains of industry and study as exist in our present society.

The individual would refuse to have others tell him to what extent he had been of benefit to society, and to what extent society should reward him for it. The individual would soon observe that rewards could not be satisfactorily made on a laboring basis.

The scientific theory of distribution proposes that men shall consume wealth according to their needs, not because they want it, but because the law allows it to them in the proportion. An obvious difficulty with this plan to distribute wealth by force of legal authority is that it is not in the nature of things to be able to measure the relative needs of different individuals. . . . even more difficult than determining the relative needs of different individuals is that of determining their relative ability.

Socialism would seem to be a society of voluntary exchange would be a tendency toward uniform gross efforts and of equal uniform desires for pleasure. For such uniformity would bring about better economic conditions, and would eliminate the use of all wealth. There would not be the waste that is now evident.



in competition.

Under socialism advancement would perhaps be somewhat slower, for the government would not enter into the making of new articles until the old ones had paid for the machinery and labor, whereas under our present system of competition, different firms are continually placing before the individual new articles in an attractive manner, and giving him an opportunity to express his individuality in the things he buys. The selective process of the modern competitive system is a chief indictment against socialism. When farmers rival one another in growing corn, there is a struggle among them, but it is not an unmitigated brutal struggle. It is the kind of a struggle which increases the corn crop and to that extent strengthens the group.

Instead of selfishness of the employing classes and the selfishness of competition, we are to have the unselfishness of a mutually aiding system. How far is this unselfishness now shown in the behavior of working men to one another? What shall we say to the rules limiting the number of new hands admitted into each trade, or to the rules which hinder ascent from inferior classes of workers to superior classes? One does not see in such regulations any of that altruism by which socialism is to be persuaded.



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Instead of selfishness of the employ-  
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tem. This is the social efficiency  
now shown in the behavior of working  
men for one another. That shall be  
the rule which shall guide the conduct  
of all those who are in the world, or  
to the rule which shall guide them  
in the conduct of business in the  
world. This shall be the rule which  
shall guide all of them in the  
conduct of their lives, which shall be the rule.



Contrariwise, one sees a pursuit of private interests, not less keen than among traders. Hence, unless we suppose that men's natures will be suddenly exalted, we must conclude that the pursuit of private interests will sway the doings of all the component classes in a socialistic society.<sup>1</sup>

Socialism, to reach success, demands a group of ideal people, willing to cooperate, thinking of nothing else than society, and willing to sacrifice everything for its benefit. When people arrive at such a condition we will not need socialism, or any other form of government - the millenium will have been reached.

Socialism tends to regulate everything, put everything under law. It will enslave the individual. Socialism begins at the wrong end. You cannot organize anything until you have individuals.

Socialism would decrease the individual desire to work out his own lines of activity, to create for himself. It has been the individualistic competition found in society, business, and politics, that has created the high type of individual we find in society. And there ~~has~~ can be no enlargement of indiv-

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1. Spencer, Herbert, From Freedom to Bondage, p.21.



Contrary to the usual view, the  
individual is not the basis of  
the social system. The social system  
is the basis of the individual.  
The individual is a product of the  
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idual enjoyment and achievement with a policy whose essential feature is the destruction of individualism in ownership and responsibility.

The philosophy of the movement and the programme by means of which it would attain its goal are in direct contradiction to the basic and controlling forces of life itself.<sup>1</sup>

In direct opposition to socialism is the theory of individual freedom as held by anarchism. Anarchism differs from socialism in its opposition to all forms of political life; ANARCHISM in its belief that all social coercion can be dispensed with, in its refusal to rely on parliamentary action as one of the means of reorganizing industrial society; in its insistence that industry must be run entirely by voluntary and autonomous groups, and in its general lack of plan for the operation of a new society.

Anarchism is a system of social doctrines and a propaganda based thereupon, the essential features of which are the abolition of all constituted authority and the

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1. Spargo, John, "Foe of Liberty and Progress," North American Review, April, 1928, p.477.



social enjoyment and enjoyment with a policy those  
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Anarchism is a system of social  
disorder and a program of  
disorder, the essential features  
of which are the abolition of all  
coercive authority and the



complete emancipation of the individual from every form of control; political, social, religious. The state which anarchism seeks to realize is denominated anarchy, a term which connotes not disorder but the most perfect conceivable order.<sup>1</sup>

Anarchism is divided into two principal groups: the avaricious, and the philosophical. The former group interprets itself in terms of revolutions, destruction, and terror. From this group the public has taken its conception of anarchism in general.

The avaricious anarchist desires to destroy all forms of government in the quickest manner. He aims at the destruction<sup>of</sup> all coercive forces. The outstanding prophets of this movement are Proudhon, Kropotkin, and Bakounin.

#### AVARICIOUS ANARCHISM

We want to destroy all states, and all churches, with all their institutions and their laws of religion, politics, jurisprudence, finance, police, universities, economics, and society, in order that all these millions of poor, enslaved, tormented, exploited human being, delivered from

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1. Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p.55.



complete emancipation of the  
individual from every form of  
control; political, social,  
religious. The state which  
attempts to realize it  
concentrates energy, a form  
which opposes not disorder  
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Anarchism is divided into two principal  
groups: the evolutionary, and the philosophical. The  
former group interprets itself in terms of revolution,  
destruction, and terror. It aims to free the people  
has taken the conception of anarchism in general.  
The evolutionary anarchist desires to destroy all  
forms of government in the quietest manner. He aims  
at the destruction of  
anarchistic forces. The  
starting impulse of this movement was freedom, the  
people, and harmony.

It went to destroy all states, and  
all churches, with all their  
religion and legal laws of police  
and politics, international, li-  
beral, police, universalized, or  
not, and finally, in order that all  
these things of earth, enslaved,  
dominated, exploited human beings,  
disappear from



all their official and officious directors and benefactors, associations, and individuals, can at last breathe with complete freedom.<sup>1</sup>

"We demand the triumph of economic and social equality through the abolition of the state and everything called juridical right; which is according to our view the permanent negation of human right. We wish the reconstruction of society and the establishment of the unity of mankind not from above downward through authority, through socialistic officials, engineers, and public technicians, but from below upward through the voluntary federation of labor associations of all kinds emancipated entirely from the yoke of the state."<sup>2</sup>

Avarice anarchism looks upon the individual as a law unto himself. There is no power which has the right to dictate to him. Such a condition could never exist in reality. We are seeking the best conditions for the individual, but that is not necessarily complete freedom. There will always be anti-social members of society, and organized society will always be compulsory in order to restrain those who are mentally unbalanced. The state should exist as an agency to make it easy for men to do right and hard to do wrong. Even with those who are not criminally disposed, penalties are required to overcome indifference and neglect of laws for the

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1. Bakounin, Violence and the Labor Movement, p.6.
2. Bakounin, "Individualism and Capitalism," by Beard, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol I, article IX.







protection of health and safety.

Every man should be free to do what he wills provided he infringes not upon the equal freedom of any other man. We need state and laws to enforce individuals so to conduct themselves that they would not infringe upon that right. If we had no state, a crisis would create one.

The philosophical anarchist has realized, more than the avarice anarchist, the conditions and needs of the individual. It is the seeking of the maximum personal development consistent with the like development of others. They do not wish complete responsibility thrown upon the individual. They recognize the fact that every group contains those who hinder the progress of that group and cannot be depended upon for correct behavior.

The philosophical anarchists hold that the best government is that which governs least. Its ranks have been led by such men as Emerson, Spencer, and Thoreau.

Thoreau and Emerson are staunch defenders of individual creative powers and abilities. They have a stable dislike towards any form of institution



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Thoreau and Emerson are spiritual leaders  
of individual creative powers and activities. They  
have a simple dislike towards any form of legislation



which attempts to crush individual freedom beyond a  
 necessary point.

ATTITUDE IN FAVOR OF  
 ANARCHISM

There never will be a really free and enlightened state, until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a state at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose, if a few were to live apart from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellow-men. A state which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious state, which also I have imagined but not anywhere seen.<sup>1</sup>

Thoreau desires liberty for the individual. He trusts no group to rule correctly, and believes no individual should be compelled to belong to any organization.

After all the practical reason why, when the people is once in the hands of the people, a majority is permitted, and for a long period continue to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice,

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1. Thoreau, Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers, p.50.



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state at last which can afford to  
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the individual with respect as a  
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it inconsistent with its own reason,  
it a law were to give a right to it,  
regarding with it, not oppressed by it,  
who fulfilled all the duties of neigh-  
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it is drop off at last as it ripened,  
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more perfect and glorious state, which  
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even I.

Therefore neither liberty for the individual.

He thinks no group to raise dictatorship, and believes no  
individual should be compelled to belong to any organ-

ization.

After all the practical reason why,  
when the people in one in the hands  
of the people, a majority is maintained,  
and for a long period continues to rule,  
is not because they are most likely to  
be in the right, nor because this state  
is nearest to the majority, but because  
they are physically the strongest. But  
a government in which the majority rule  
in all cases cannot be based on justice.

J. Thorpe, Anti-Slavery and Reform League, p. 50.



even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not mutually decide right and wrong, but conscience?— in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen even for a moment, or in the less degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. ....Law never made a man a whit more just; and, by means of that respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain — monkeys, and all, machinery in admirable order, over hill and dale to the wars, against their will, aye, against their common sense and conscience, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined.<sup>1</sup>

"I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an acorn and a chestnut fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the others, but both obey their own laws, and spring and grow and flourish as best they can, till one, perchance, overshadows and destroys the other. If a plant cannot live according to its nature it dies;

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1. Thoreau, Henry D. Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers, p.23.



even as far as men understand it. There is no government in which justice is not actually denied rights and wrong, but consequences in which justice is denied only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applied. What the citizen even law a moment, or in the least degree, saying his conscience is his judge. I have never seen a conscience that I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not expedient to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. I have never made a man a whit more just; and by means of that respect for it, even the well-learned and fully made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you have a file of soldiers, colonial, despotic - military, and all, working in obedient order, ever still and calm to the laws, against their will, and against their common sense and conscience, which makes it very cheap machinery indeed, and produces a participation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a terrible business in which they are concerned; they are all possibly inclined.

"I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an action and a constant fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the other, but both obey their own laws, and acting and grow and flourish as best they can. Still one, persistence, overabundance and destroys the other. If a plant cannot find nourishment to its nature it dies."

I. Thoreau, Henry D. Thoreau and Henry Thoreau, 1849.



and so a man."<sup>1</sup>

Emerson sees the state as a necessary institution but not an absolute being which has the power to crush the individual, and to punish him as it wishes.

The state must follow and not lead the character and progress of the citizen. ....the law is only a memorandum. The statute stands there to say: 'Yesterday we agreed so and so, but how feel ye this article today?' Our statute is a currency which we stamp with our own portrait. It soon becomes unrecognizable, and in the process of time will return to the mint.<sup>2</sup>

"The less the government we have the better - the fewer laws, and the less confided powers. The antidote to this abuse of formal government is the influence of private character, the growth of the individual; the appearance of the principle to supercede the proxy."<sup>3</sup>

In dealing with the state we ought to remember that its institutions are not aboriginal, though they existed before we were born; that they are not superior to the citizen; that everyone of them was once the act of a single man.<sup>4</sup>

The individual should be so situated that he is capable and allowed to think for himself. Given room and permission to work out his own problems and expand as he so desires.

I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badge and names, to

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1. Thoreau, Henry D. Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers, p.48.
  2. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Politics, p.192.
  3. Ibid., p.206.
  4. Ibid., p.191.



and as a result

the state as a necessary institution

which has the power to govern the individual, and to govern him as it wishes.

The state must follow and not lead the individual and protect the individual. The law is only a means to an end. The state exists to serve the individual, not to rule him. The state is a creature of the individual, not the other way round. It is a creature of the individual, and in the process of time will return to the individual.

"The fact that the government we have is the best - the fairest, and the least corrupted power. The existence of this abuse of formal government is the influence of private enterprise, the growth of the individual, the appearance of the principle to subordinate the state."

It is not with the state to engage in a competition with the individual. The state is not to be a competitor of the individual, but a servant of the individual. The state is to be a servant of the individual, not a master of the individual. The state is to be a servant of the individual, not a master of the individual.

The individual should be so educated that he is capable and allowed to think for himself. When the individual is so educated that he is capable and allowed to think for himself, then the state has its duty. The state has its duty to the individual, and the individual has his duty to the state.

I am pleased to think how easily we can organize to make and manage.

- 1. Thomas, Henry D. Anti-Slavery and Reform Society, 1848.
- 2. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Lectures, 1843.
- 3. Ibid., 1843.
- 4. Ibid., 1843.



large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well-spoken individual affects and sways me more than is right.<sup>1</sup>

"Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of everyone of its members. Society is a joint stock company, in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each stockholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater."<sup>2</sup>

Emerson holds no institution, because it has tradition and customs, has any right to use the individual as a building stone, a thing to be used for the maintenance of its glory.

The objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is that it scatters your force. It loses your time and blurs the impression of your character. If you maintain a dead church, contribute to a dead Bible-society, vote with a great party either for the government or against it, spread your table like base housekeepers - under all these screens I have difficulty to detect the precise man you are and of course so much force withdrawn from your proper life.<sup>3</sup>

The attitude of anarchism is vividly portrayed in Roger N. Baldwin's statement of defense, upon being tried for his refusal to appear for physical examination for the United States Army. The consciousness of his position is shown in part by the following extracts:

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1. Emerson, Ralph Waldo, "Self-Reliance," p.52.
2. Ibid., p.51.
3. Ibid., p.55.



large societies and local institutions.  
Every decent and well-schooled individual  
will concede and agree that more than is  
right.

"Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the man-  
hood of everyone of its members. Society is a joint  
stock company, in which the members agree, for the better  
conducting of its trade to each stockholder, to surrender  
the liberty and culture of the actor."  
Garson holds no institution, because if man  
freedom and culture, has any right to use the individual  
as a building stone, a thing to be used for the nation-  
ness of its glory.

The objection to considering as masses  
that have passed down to you in fact  
it concerns your forces. It seems  
your aim and aims the impression of  
your organization. If you maintain a head  
of such, contribute to a good thing.  
Society, with a great party, either  
from the government or against it, against  
your belief, has been established - under  
all these names I have difficulty to  
detect the precise man you are and of  
course no such force withdrawn from your  
proper life.

The attitude of anarchism is visibly por-  
trayed in Roger N. Baldwin's statement of defense,  
upon being tried for his refusal to appear for official  
examination for the United States Army. The demonstra-  
tion of his position is shown in part by the following

1. Garson, Ralph Waldo, "Self-Reliance," p. 22.  
2. Ibid., p. 21.  
3. Ibid., p. 20.



The compelling motive for refusing to comply with the draft act is my uncompromising opposition to the principle of conscription of life by the state for any purpose whatever, in time of war or peace. I not only refuse to obey any similar statute which attempts to direct my choice of service and ideals, I regard the principle of conscription of life as a flat contradiction of all our cherished ideals of individual freedom, democratic liberty and Christian teaching. I am the more opposed to the present act, because it is for the purpose of conducting war. I am opposed to this and all other wars. I do not believe in the use of physical force as a method of achieving any end, however good.....Though at the moment I am of a tiny minority, I feel myself just one protest in a great revolt surging up from among the people - the struggle of the masses against the rule of the world by a few - profoundly intensified by the war. It is a struggle against the political state itself.....Mine is a personal protest at a particular law, but it is backed by all the aspirations and ideals of the struggle for a world freed of our manifold slaveries and tyrannies.<sup>1</sup>

As brought out before, anarchism aims to provide individual freedom for every individual. It seeks to break down the present hold of institutional tyranny.

Liberty is the condition in which a nation finds itself when nobody is allowed to interrupt the free play and full development of the individuality of any one of its members without his consent, excepting for the purpose of preventing his interrupting, by force

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1. Baldwin, Roger N. "The Individual and the State; the Problem as Presented by the Sentencing of Roger N. Baldwin," p.6.







or fraud, the full development of the individuality of any other of its members.<sup>1</sup>

Anarchism has given the individual credit for more cooperation and unselfishness than he is able to exert. At present, more good comes to the people

#### ATTITUDE AGAINST ANARCHISM

through state action than there would be without it. Laws are necessary to secure the greatest amount of liberty for all. One's own liberty ceases where the liberty of another begins, and the average individual <sup>often</sup> is ~~not~~ willing, or capable, of recognizing where the other's individual liberty begins; where his should stop. Law increases liberty. It gives me the right to do what I should be powerless to do without the sanction of the state. It is clear that my liberties are widened at the same time that the liberties of all other persons are restricted proportionately - law creates more liberty than it destroys.

Individual liberty is consistent with law and order, and the ideal of a state is reached in proportion to the individual liberty attained and the order which is maintained in the commonwealth of a free people.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal is stated by Geoffrey Layman:

English respect as far as possible what he regards as the unalienable rights of

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1. Kirkus, William, Liberty, Individuality, and The Suicide of Liberty, p.4.
  2. Howell, George, Liberty for Labour, p.109.



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The ideal is stated by Geoffrey Leys:

English respect as far as possible what  
he regards as the unalienable rights of

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Rights  
of Man.  
The Rights of Man, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Rights  
of Man.



the individual. That is, it shall secure to each individual as full a measure of personal freedom as is consistent with the securing of an equally full measure of personal freedom to every other individual.<sup>1</sup>

In a society controlled by anarchism personal freedom would not be safe, for every individual would be seeking as much liberty as possible. In so doing the more powerful would soon destroy the liberty of the weaker and in time a few people would be controlling the liberty of all.

Anarchism aims to establish individual liberty; but as long as any occupier can have the best lands in agriculture and the best building lots; he can, under free competition receive enormous gains over his competitor - can with these gains buy machinery that others cannot afford, and run his competitors out of business, re-enacting under anarchism all or most of the industrial evils that we have today.<sup>2</sup>

Some form of law, enforced by the government, is needed to guard the liberty of all. In spite of mis-carriage of justice today, one is safer in the hands of a duly constituted court with judge and jury than he would be in the hands of a frenzied mob executing lynch law.

The individual cannot continue to exist under conditions which the institutions such as the state, industry and the church are forcing upon him. At the

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1. Layman, Geoffrey, "An English View of Personal Rights," Harper's Magazine, Nov., 1929.
  2. The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p.65.



THE  
OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF THE  
NAVY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
JANUARY 1, 1900

TO THE  
HONORABLE  
MEMBERS OF THE  
NAVY

THE  
OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF THE  
NAVY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



same time society has not reached the standards whereby it would be safe to allow it the freedom advocated by the philosophical anarchist. There must be an attempt on the part of these institutions to educate the individual and to raise his attitude toward others, to broaden his outlook on life. By doing this, the conditions as expressed by Emerson may be obtained.

Neither socialism nor anarchism is capable of restoring to the individual, in a manner that will prove beneficial to the individual, his creative urge, his ability to accept and handle his own responsibility, and the greatest amount of liberty.

The whole history of civilization is the history of a struggle to establish a relation between the whole and its parts, which is neither absolute socialism nor absolute anarchy, but a state in which, by action and reaction of each upon each, such an adaptation shall take place, that the welfare of the whole and that of the units shall eventually become coincident and not antagonistic. Such is the problem of civilization, of the development of the hyper-organism; integration without impairing the individuality of the component units.<sup>1</sup>

Socialism in its attempt to benefit the individual has established an institutional organization destined to crush the individual far beyond his present condition. Anarchism, hoping to free the individual from present institutions, would allow him such

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1. Dornesthorpe, Individualism, a System of Politics, p.303.



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The whole history of civilization is  
the history of a struggle to establish  
a relation between the whole and the  
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has any absolute truth, but a stage  
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Socialism in its attempt to handle the  
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tion designed to control the individual for the good of  
present condition. Anarchism, working to free the indi-  
vidual from present institutions, would allow him each



a range of freedom that the individual's freedom would be in conflict with that of other individuals, and in time every individual, in the attempt to obtain liberty, would find that his liberty was crushed by the lack of consideration and ignorance of others.

When socialism takes up the defence of the individual against organization, it ends by making the social compact more binding; or when anarchism preaches a theory of individual independence, it ends by suppressing liberty, and prepares the way for increasing the dominant power of authority.

Philosophical anarchism comes the nearest to the spirit of seeking to provide the individual the necessary liberty and the freedom, at the same time decreasing the power of the institutions. But if carried to its fullest extent this would destroy compulsory education, which is society's only means of reaching every individual and of securing his necessary education. It would destroy the church, which would result in individualistic philosophy working in an environment of unscientific religious thought and of ecclesiastical autocracy which is unreasonable and unbalanced.

Society may secure help from both socialism



12

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would be in conflict with that of other individuals,  
and in the very individual, in the attempt to ob-  
tain liberty, would find that his liberty was crushed  
by the lack of co-operation and assistance of others.  
When socialism takes up the defense of the  
individual against oppression, it aims by making  
the social compact more binding; or when socialism  
presents a theory of individual independence, it aims  
by suppressing liberty, and prepares the way for in-  
creasing the dominant power of authority.  
Political socialism seeks to transfer  
to the right of seeking to provide the individual  
the necessary liberty and the freedom of the state  
the despotic power of the institutions, but in  
carried to the fullest extent this would destroy  
compulsory education, which is society's only means  
of reaching every individual and of securing his  
necessary education. It would destroy the church,  
which would result in individualistic philosophy work-  
ing in an environment of unchristian religious thought  
and of scientific authority which is unchristian  
and unbalanced.  
Society may secure help from both socialism



and anarchism in the restoration of the individual to his proper relationship with the institution. It has been decisively shown that conditions cannot remain as they now exist.

The centripetal forces seem to move almost irresistibly towards consolidation and centralization, with its stupendous powers, with the vast plutocratic combinations of incorporated wealth and capital so closely in alliance; with the widespread national and international popular organizations of labor, with their solidified, massed numerical forces, one asks, with just alarm what is to become of the individual - the free man, the essential unit of society that hopes to retain the principle of growth and progress; of adaptation to those advances and improvements which demand the open mind, the complete liberty of human faculties, first for their discovery, and after that for their reception and assimilation? Is there not cause to fear lest between the upper and the nether millstones of the twins of despotism, military absolutism and socialistic tyranny, the freedom of the individual may be ground to death?

With conditions as they are, the individual will be so crushed or he will revolt and the institution will lose all control over him. Without some direction the individual would walk around as if blindfolded, hand tied; for he has existed a long time with everything - religion, education, laws, and the like, - handed out to him. He has played the part of a cog

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1. Bayard, T.F. "Individual Freedom, " An Address, printed by George Ellis in 1896. p.10.







in a vast machine, and he will find himself lost  
in an unknown country.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY



in a vast machine, and he will find himself lost  
in an unknown country.



...from philosophical speculation  
and from speculation, studying present conditions as they  
really exist with the present trend of thought. It is an  
endeavor to reach the truth as it is, not as it  
should be. It is the study of the individual as he  
is, that is, in the context of society, etc.

### CHAPTER THREE

## THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE INSTITUTION

...and from every other source of knowledge  
which is not the result of speculation. It is the study of the individual as he is, not as he should be. It is the study of the individual as he is, that is, in the context of society, etc.

...the old theory that if the individual, even  
in youth, with starting social conditions,  
were properly trained, he would emerge into  
the world the better of it. It is the study of the individual as he is, not as he should be. It is the study of the individual as he is, that is, in the context of society, etc.

...the individual as he is, not as he should be. It is the study of the individual as he is, that is, in the context of society, etc.



CHAPTER THREE

THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE INSTITUTION



Drawing lessons from philosophical anarchism  
and from socialism, studying present conditions as they  
really exist with the present trend of thought, let us  
endeavor to work out some means  
SEPARATE ENTITIES whereby the individual can real-  
ize that he is the center of society, that:

All progress starts and ends with the individual being. He is material out of which the superstructure of civilization is reared. This little human dynamo is the source of the power in which the whole world takes pride. While our education, our religion, our social reforms have become mass plays, it should be understood that political, religious, or social organizations will not in themselves redeem the human mind from error nor establish happiness among mankind. The world cannot be redeemed by formulae; men may not be educated or reformed in phalanxes. Nevertheless, the great organized social activity of modern life seems to have thrust aside the individual as an ideal. At least the old theory that if the individual, sound in mind, with sterling moral qualities, were properly trained, he would carry into the world the leaven of righteousness, and leaven the whole lump, has been overshadowed by the gigantic mass play of social reform as a means of human progress. The conclusion is reached that individualism has no place in social progress and advancement is conditioned by the rule of the mass. The error consists in repudiation of the individual instead of his regeneration.



Practical lessons from philosophical anthropology  
and from sociology, studying present conditions as they  
really exist with the present trend of thought, let us  
endeavour to work out some means  
SEPARATE SMITHS  
whereby the individual can real-

ize that he is the center of society, that:

All progress starts and ends with the  
individual being. He is central and  
of which the surroundings of civil-  
ization is centered. This little human  
organism is the source of all power in  
which the whole world takes its life.  
While our education, our religion, our  
social reforms have become mass things,  
it should be understood that political,  
religious, or social organizations will  
not be effective unless the human  
mind first enters into individual happiness  
and growth. The world cannot be re-  
deemed by formulas; it must be edu-  
cated or reformed by individuals. Every-  
thing, the great organized social activity  
of modern life needs to have these individuals  
the individual as an ideal. At least  
the old theory that it is the individual, seen  
in itself, with eternal moral qualities,  
was properly founded, he would carry into  
the world the lesson of righteousness,  
and leave the whole lot, the best  
overlooked by the scientific man play  
of social reform as a means of human  
progress. The conclusion is reached that  
individualism has no place in social  
progress and advancement is conditioned  
by the role of the mass. The error con-  
sists in separation of the individual  
instead of his regeneration.



While great social movements are to be commended as belonging to the higher phases of human endeavor, it is now time to consider, 'Lest we forget,' that they depend for their success upon a justifiable individualism and that without it, the industrial, political, and religious systems of the world - yea, the whole social fabric, will eventually fail.<sup>1</sup>

Let us at the same time work out a means whereby the institution will realize that its principle is the individual. There is a definite place in society for the institution, as long as it does not sacrifice the principle for the glory of the institution. Every institution has an opportunity to work for the betterment of society, through the development of the individual within the group.

The individual is not an entity in itself, he could not develop without social contact. The growth of the individual comes through relationships, through contact with others, through connections with various organizations and institutions.

The individual is nothing when sundered from his fellows, that if he is to realize his individuality he must transcend it, if he is to find his life, he must lose it in the larger life of social relations.<sup>2</sup>

"Physically, the individual is a discrete and definite unit. Functionally, he is not so. Functionally, he

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1. Blackman, F.W. Justifiable Individualism, p.11.  
 2. Everett, Moral Values, p.229.



While great social movements are  
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higher phases of human endeavor, it  
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Let us at the same time work out a means

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for the betterment of society, through the development  
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The individual is not an entity in itself, he  
could not develop without social contact. The growth  
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The individual is not a being who emerges  
from his father, that is to say, he is not  
an individuality he must transcend  
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lose it in the larger life of social re-  
lationships.

"Psychically, the individual is a discrete and definite  
unit. Functionally, he is not so. Functionally, he



becomes an individual, gets his growth, and lives, only by virtue of a host of symbolic relations with other individuals."<sup>1</sup>

Functionally, it is the duty of the institution to see that the individual secures the best relations in his growth. As the individual is the material out of which institutions are made, the destiny of the institution depends upon the development of the individual.

The individual has certain rights and privileges which no institution has the right to crush or destroy. "The pursuit of happiness was the right of every human being and in that pursuit he has a right to be let alone, provided he did not interfere with other people's pursuit of happiness." <sup>2</sup>

The individual will insist on justice and freedom, for without these he cannot have self-respect and manliness. Under a just and fair system the individual will be eager to work with other individuals for the common good.<sup>3</sup>

The individual should insist on maintaining his own rights. There are some things which he must be given the privilege of working out and doing for himself, or he will become such a social being that all

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1. Wolfe, A.B., Individuals and Democracy, p.398.
2. Eliot, Charles, The Conflict Between Individualism and Collectivism, p.7.
3. Yanos, Victor, S., "Socialism and Individualism," International Journal of Ethics, July, 1919 Vol. XXIX, p.405.



...as an individual, gets his growth, and lives,  
only by virtue of a host of symbolic relations with  
other individuals.  
Functionally, it is the basis of the individual.

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The individual will insist on freedom  
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have self-respect and happiness. That  
is what he wants. The individual  
will be eager to work with other individuals  
for the common good.

The individual should insist on maintaining  
his own rights. There are some things which he must  
be given the privilege of working out and doing for  
himself, or he will become such a social being that all

- 1. Wells, A. B., The Individual and Society, p. 100.
- 2. Stoddard, Charles, The Social Basis of Individualism.
- 3. and Individualism, p. 100.
- 4. Stoddard, Charles, The Social Basis of Individualism, p. 100.
- 5. Stoddard, Charles, The Social Basis of Individualism, p. 100.



individuality will be lost.

The spirit of the individualist movement is one of resistance to any overstepping by the legislature of its normal boundaries. It is the embodiment of the absolute principle of civil liberty, or the greatest possible liberty of each compatible with the equal liberty of all.<sup>1</sup>

For such the individual must strive lest he be lowered to an average type which the institutions would construct. Progress is born from the mind of the individual, and not out of the mind of the crowd. The individual is the cause of society's present development. The progress of society will never come from institutional herding. The present tendency is the standardization of the individual so completely that he becomes a part of the mass with no chance for freedom and expression of originality.

Freedom of the chair, freedom of the platform, and freedom of the press are absolutely indispensable conditions of a progressive, enlightened democracy and of the perpetuity of its civilization. I mean freedom from the tyranny of the dollar and the crowd-mind, freedom from sectarian and ecclesiastical tyranny. Without these freedoms we shall become a most unwieldly horde of mediocre human beings, our civilization will fall to pieces of its own weight, and cluttered complexity.<sup>2</sup>

The key to the success of society lies in the

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1. Wordsworth and Dornesthorpe, Individualism, a System of Politics, p.283.

2. Leighton, Joseph, Individuality and Education, p.65.



Individuality will be lost.

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velopment. The progress of society will never come

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the extermination of the individual as completely as

he becomes a part of the mass with no chance for free-

dom and expression of originality.

Freedom of the mind, freedom of the  
spirit, and freedom of the body  
are the only three conditions  
of a progressive, enlightened democracy  
and the necessity of its survival.  
I am freedom from the tyr-  
anny of the belief and the crowd, and  
freedom from tradition and convention.  
Without these freedom we shall  
become a most wretched people of slaves.  
We must believe, not only in the  
fall to pieces of the old world,  
and a new complexity.

The key to the success of society lies in the

1. Individualism and Democracy, a Study  
of Politics, 1907.
2. Individualism and Democracy, a Study  
of Politics, 1907.



question whether society will grant the individual this opportunity for expression and freedom, to the extent that he does not interfere with the freedom of other people.

In our search for unity we come at last to the individual. We find that unity where many have discovered only its opposite, disharmony and strife, in the will of each to be himself and achieve the objects that are dear to him. We find it not in the surrender but in the fulfillment of personality, not in an imposed order but in one which is responsive to the inmost nature of every man. Social order must be adjudged not only good but enduring in proportion as it expressed and is created by free personality. This liberty is the very condition of social development, and the structure of society gains vastly in intricacy and in strength as it grows in the consentient devotion of those whom it should serve. The endless conflicts of life do not touch its foundations, because of the eternal dependence of personality on society. The blindness and misunderstanding which trusts to force, which draws lines of sheer division between classes or nations, ends in defeat and disaster. The deeper bond of the community is the character not of class nor of nation, but of free human personality, which from within its own small circle is capable of reconciling in one community the whole world.<sup>1</sup>

I have already implied that man has not reached the place in his development where he can be trusted to

do the right things for his fellow-  
 INSTITUTION  
 men, nor to do as he desires without

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1. Follett, Mary P. The Modern State, p.491.



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extent that he does not interfere with the freedom of  
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development, and the structure of society  
gains vitality in individuality and in strength  
as it grows in the consequent action  
of those whom it would serve. The more  
free conflict of life is not touch life  
fundamentally, but it is the basis of  
personality of personality in society. The  
highest and most satisfying thing  
known to man, which gives him a sense of  
division between himself and others, and  
in itself and himself. The danger does  
of the community is the character not of man  
nor of nation, but of free human personal-  
ity, which from within the very social structure  
is capable of rejecting in one community  
the whole world.

I have already pointed out that man has not reached  
the place in his development where he can be limited to  
do the right things for his fellow-  
man, nor to do as he desires without  
interference.



law and justice. Up to this stage in his development, he is not able to judge and decide, entirely for the benefit of himself and society. In order that he may so develop and not interfere with the progress of society, institutions have a right to control his actions to a certain extent. Rights, duties, and liberties of the individual should have emphasis on the one hand, and the requirements, laws, conventions of society as a body on the other hand.

The institution must view the individual as an individual and not as a part of its machine. It must recognize the freedom due him, and at the same time it is essential for the institution to force itself on the individual when the latter is holding back the progress of society.

The only purpose for which power can rightfully be exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. ....The only part of the conduct of anyone for which he is answerable to society is that which concerns others.<sup>1</sup>

"Living together as we do in a natural group, with our interests constantly overlapping, we stand in need of an authority with the power to decide about any matter involving our common interests in a critical way; hence the state."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Martin, G.W. Liberty and Sovereignty, p.5.

2. Demos, R. "On the Decline of Authority," The International Journal of Ethics, April, 1926, Vol.XXXVI, p.247







The institution must force education upon the individual when that institution realizes that education will be the savior of the individual and society. The institution must lay down traffic laws, prohibition laws, and other enforcements when it views men infringing upon the rights of others. At the same time the institution has no right to crush the individual because it has him within its grasp, as in the case of modern industry and the state.

A state is only a state when it is composed of men. The state is for him sovereign only when his conscience is not stirred against its performance, and whatever brings the conscience of man into opposition to the state, must, for the state, be sacred ground.<sup>1</sup>

The same should hold for all institutions. The institution must regard itself as the organization existing for the honor of the individual. It must see that the individual grows in the correct environment, blooming into its fullest colors and shades. It is necessary, for the advancement of the human race, that the institution return to the principle upon which it was built, and work for the development of the individual.

For what is an institution profited,  
if it shall gain the whole world, and  
lose its own soul? or what shall an

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1. Martin, Geo. "Liberty and Sovereignty," p.3.



The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the City of New York, for the year 1901.

Committee on the Administration of the City of New York  
Committee on the Finance of the City of New York  
Committee on the Police of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Works of the City of New York  
Committee on the Sanitation of the City of New York  
Committee on the Streets of the City of New York  
Committee on the Taxation of the City of New York  
Committee on the Water Supply of the City of New York

Committee on the Yards and Wharves of the City of New York  
Committee on the Zoning of the City of New York  
Committee on the Parks and Recreation of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Buildings of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Utilities of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Safety of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Health of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Education of the City of New York

Committee on the Public Library of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Museum of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Art of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Parks of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Works of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Utilities of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Safety of the City of New York  
Committee on the Public Health of the City of New York



institution give in exchange for its soul?<sup>1</sup>

The individual and the institution must build up a better understanding of each other's aims and needs. The individual must see the institution as an organization working for his benefit, for his growth. The institution cannot afford to deceive the individual into fulfilling its own principle. It must see the individual needs and desires, and work to see that those are secured. The individual must not think that the institutions are a hindrance to his growth, for

INTERRELATION OF THE  
INSTITUTION AND THE  
INDIVIDUAL

The world is a unity and the man who pretends to live independently is a conscious or unconscious parasite.<sup>2</sup>

He is not playing fair to the institution which has given him his growth, for he returns nothing to society. "Individualism will degenerate into selfishness if sight is lost of the relationships of the individual's labour for the community."<sup>3</sup>

There must be a give and take, a willingness on the part of both to sacrifice something for the other's benefit. Neither the individual nor the institution can claim absolute right in all cases. Complete

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1. Apology to The Authorized Version, Matthew 16:26.
2. Russell, Bertrand, What I Believe, p.61.
3. Montgomery, M. "Individualism and Social Conscience,"



Individuals give in exchange for life  
society

The individual and the institution must  
build up a better understanding of each other's aims  
and needs. The individual must see the institution  
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and desires, and work to see that those are secured.  
The individual must not think that the institutions  
are a hindrance to his growth, for

The world is a unity and the man  
who pretends to live independently  
is a parasite on mankind.

It is not giving fair to the institution  
which has given him his growth, for he returns nothing  
to society. Individualism will degenerate into self-  
ishness if it is not of the right spirit. The  
individual's liberty for the community.

There must be a give and take, a willingness  
on the part of both to sacrifice something for the  
other's benefit. Neither the individual nor the insti-  
tution can claim absolute right in all cases.

1. Authority to the individual, not to the institution.  
2. Individualism, not I believe, is the  
3. Democracy, not individualism, is the basis of civilization.



socialism or anarchism will never solve the problem.

Is there a medium between anarchism and socialism; a movement wherein the individual and the institution gave and take, where there is a willingness on the part of both to sacrifice something for the other's benefit? The nearest to such a condition seems to be the cooperative democracy which was first set forth by the Rochdale Pioneers of England, who began the movement on three principles:

each member one vote; money should simply receive the prevailing rate of interest, and no more; commodities should be sold at the ordinary market price, the surplus being returned to the members in proportion to their patronage.<sup>1</sup>

In the Rochdale plan the promoter and consumer are one and the same. The consuming masses are interested in the total good of society, for they are society. The individual is recognized, given credit for his activity, and led to feel that he is a part of a great institution that is working for his benefit.

The cooperative movement has a large following in England and other countries of Europe. It appears to work very well in the industries, but whether it would work in other institutions such as the state and church, where prejudice is apt to be very strong, is doubtful.

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1. Warbasse, J.P., "Address," Tuesday, February 20, 1929, at Calgary, Canada.



association or association will never solve the problem.  
It is true a system between association and co-  
operation is movement towards the individual and the in-  
dividual gives and takes, there is a willingness  
on the part of both to sacrifice something for the  
other's benefit. The method is such a competition seems  
to be the cooperative movement which has first set  
forth by the Rochdale Pioneers of England, who began  
the movement on three principles:  
each member one vote; every man's  
share to receive the proportionate  
of interest, and no more; no ad-  
vance should be made at the ordinary  
share price, the surplus being re-  
turned to the members in proportion  
to their patronage.  
In the Rochdale also the principle and practice  
are one and the same. The co-operative movement  
is based on the social good of society, for they are society.  
The individual is recognized, given credit for his ad-  
vance, and led to feel that he is a part of a great  
institution that is working for his benefit.  
The co-operative movement has a three-fold  
aim in England and other countries of Europe. It appears  
in many ways well in the future, but whether it will  
work in other institutions such as the State and nation,  
where progress is not so very steady, is doubtful.  
I. W. L. "The Co-operative Movement", 1900, p. 125.  
at Chicago, Illinois.



Another step toward the establishment of a better relationship between the individual and the institution has been brought about through the broad vision and Christian ideals of such concerns as: Filene's, Dennison, Fan Alpaca Company, and the Boston Consolidated Gas Company. Concerns that share their profits and management with the employees; concerns that organize its employees and make them feel a part of the company. Dennison gives dividends to their employees on the basis of the workers' wages and number of years with the company; Fan Alpaca works its dividends on the basis of the quality of labor and profits. Boston Consolidated Gas Company encourages the employees to own the company's stocks.

There are various plans by which the companies recognize the individual, and every company that has such a plan has taken a far-reaching step toward the welding of the friendship and understanding in industry. Up to this time, such companies include a very small percent of the world's industries. There must be a more extensive program. There must be a greater understanding and friendship than these will provide; one that can stretch to every institution and individual.



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relation and Christian basis of such concepts as:  
Kilmer's, Davidson, the Bible Society, and the Boston  
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at the company. Davidson gives evidence to their employees  
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be; one that can create an easy transition and  
individual.



George R. Wells seems to believe that there is no present solution for this problem, that there is no definite way out. It seems that if we were to realize more and more the following, then we would be far on the road to the desired solution.

The world we wish to seek is a world in which the creative spirit is alive, in which life is an adventure bfull of hope and joy, based rather upon the impulse to construct than upon the desire to retain what we possess or to seize what is possessed by others. It must be a world in which.....cruelty and envy have been dispelled by happiness and the unfettered development of all the instincts that build up life and fill it with mental delights. Such a world is possible, it awaits only for men to wish to create it.<sup>1</sup>

In time we will arrive at a place wherein the individual and the institution will discover their proper relationship with one another. And in time they will be willing to recognize the superior qualities

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1. Russell, Bertrand, Proposed Road to Freedom, p.212.



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J. Russell, Portland, Oregon, 1934.



of the other. They will be willing to place authority where it belongs and will work for the development of one another. We will be more anxious to work for that as Tensley so well states:

We have passed to a place in which increasing security and the development of the individual freedom and initiative have immensely enriched human life. We must now look to a state in which the individual must be subordinated to the herd, to the national herd in the first place, but ultimately to the universal herd, but in which the herd control is enlightened, permitting of free play to all the powers and capacities of the individual that have been developed through his period of individual freedom - powers which can be employed at once in the development to its full capacity of the individual mind and in the interests of the herd as a whole. The license of the individual must be curbed, but the powers and instincts of the individual must not be crippled or stunted. To work toward the accomplishment of such an end is the last and sublimest task of the human race.<sup>1</sup>

There must be the willingness to cooperate, a desire on the part of both the institution and the individual to give of their best for the benefit of society as a whole. There must develop an educational, an intelligent understanding of each other's purpose and a desire to take that purpose into consideration as they work together for the development of the human race.

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1. Tensley, A.G. New Psychology, p.295.



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SUMMARY



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## I. Introduction:

This thesis begins with a brief discussion of institutional growth and the influence it had on individual liberty. With the rise of institutions came a gradual limitation of individuality for the advancement of the institution, followed by the loss of the principle and the absorption of individual conscience by the institution.

## II. Institution affecting Individual Freedom:

### A. State:

The state should be established on a contract basis with the individual, for the government is not a divine institution but a product of man. It is the only institution that compels every individual to belong. With this in mind, the state should be careful of the coercive force which it uses. The state should protect the liberty of the people to the extent that the individual does not interfere with the liberty of other people.

### B. Church:

The church assumed authority over spiritual and temporal affairs and went so far in its control of the destinies of man as to assume authority over the individual conscience. The church lost its principle:



1. The first...

2. The second...

3. The third...

4. The fourth...

5. The fifth...

6. The sixth...

7. The seventh...

8. The eighth...

9. The ninth...

10. The tenth...

11. The eleventh...

12. The twelfth...

13. The thirteenth...

14. The fourteenth...

15. The fifteenth...

16. The sixteenth...

17. The seventeenth...

18. The eighteenth...

19. The nineteenth...

20. The twentieth...

21. The twenty-first...

22. The twenty-second...

23. The twenty-third...

24. The twenty-fourth...

25. The twenty-fifth...

26. The twenty-sixth...

27. The twenty-seventh...

28. The twenty-eighth...

29. The twenty-ninth...

30. The thirtieth...

31. The thirty-first...

32. The thirty-second...

33. The thirty-third...

34. The thirty-fourth...

35. The thirty-fifth...

36. The thirty-sixth...

37. The thirty-seventh...

38. The thirty-eighth...

39. The thirty-ninth...

40. The fortieth...

41. The forty-first...

42. The forty-second...

43. The forty-third...

44. The forty-fourth...

45. The forty-fifth...

46. The forty-sixth...

47. The forty-seventh...

48. The forty-eighth...

49. The forty-ninth...

50. The fiftieth...

51. The fifty-first...

52. The fifty-second...

53. The fifty-third...

54. The fifty-fourth...

55. The fifty-fifth...

56. The fifty-sixth...

57. The fifty-seventh...

58. The fifty-eighth...

59. The fifty-ninth...

60. The sixtieth...

61. The sixty-first...

62. The sixty-second...

63. The sixty-third...

64. The sixty-fourth...

65. The sixty-fifth...

66. The sixty-sixth...

67. The sixty-seventh...

68. The sixty-eighth...

69. The sixty-ninth...

70. The seventieth...

71. The seventy-first...

72. The seventy-second...

73. The seventy-third...

74. The seventy-fourth...

75. The seventy-fifth...

76. The seventy-sixth...

77. The seventy-seventh...

78. The seventy-eighth...

79. The seventy-ninth...

80. The eightieth...

81. The eighty-first...

82. The eighty-second...

83. The eighty-third...

84. The eighty-fourth...

85. The eighty-fifth...

86. The eighty-sixth...

87. The eighty-seventh...

88. The eighty-eighth...

89. The eighty-ninth...

90. The ninetieth...

91. The ninety-first...

92. The ninety-second...

93. The ninety-third...

94. The ninety-fourth...

95. The ninety-fifth...

96. The ninety-sixth...

97. The ninety-seventh...

98. The ninety-eighth...

99. The ninety-ninth...

100. The hundredth...



the individual, in dogmas, creeds, and rituals, at the same time claiming its authority from God.

The church must realize more than it has that the individual is the key to the kingdom of God. The individual must be given more opportunity to dream and weave his own thoughts.

#### C. Education:

Based on the assumption that all minds are alike and should have the same training, education has gone in for mass production. The exceptionally gifted child is flattened down to the level of the mediocre child. Through clock-like standards, education has become an arch sinner against human destiny.

Education must find room for more creative development: development of individual characteristics and talents.

#### D. Industry:

The evolution of industry is brought about with the change of the individual from creative industry to clock-like reactions under the guidance of machinery. Machinery has become the god of self-preservation, making man a mere cog in industry, until he has become a human machine, an automatic feeder, who chanced to be flesh-and-blood-and-mind.



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he has become a human machine, an obedient leader,  
and changed to be block-and-stand-and-still.



There has come over the individual a loss of pride, creativeness, and self-reliance. He must be freed from the "Iron Horse" and given opportunity to become interested in what he is making, that of which he is a part. He must be given some means of restoring his lost self.

#### E. The Family:

The force of individualization in the destruction of the family is brought out with the disappearance of the patriarchal family. The influence of other institutions on the family are shown to be very effective in its dissolution.

### III. Institutions striving for Individual Freedom:

#### A. Labor organizations and unions:

Labor organizations and unions set out to free the individual from other institutions, but ended by making the individual a suppressed unit of their own organization. Unionism merely meant the sacrifice of one section of the laborers to another. It looked too much to its own interests.

#### B. Socialism:

The aim of socialism is to secure a better distribution of wealth under the central democratic control. All national resources, all production and distribution will be under one central control. Such



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### III. Institutions surviving for individual freedom:

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#### B. Socialism:

The aim of socialism is to secure a better  
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control. All national resources, all production and  
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a condition would be of great benefit to the working class.

In time the individual would become an instrument of society with as many bosses, heads, and captains as exist today. There would be a slow use of new ideas, a standardization of all production. The individual would in time refuse to cooperate with such a government. Socialism starts out by taking for granted too much cooperation on the part of the individual.

#### C. Anarchism:

##### 1. Avarice:

Avarice anarchism desires no form of government or state of any kind and would use destruction, revolutions, and strikes to bring about as soon as possible their state of society. They desire that the individual should be a law unto himself.

##### 2. Philosophical anarchism:

The philosophical anarchist holds that that government is best which governs least. The prophets of this movement are Emerson, Thoreau, and Spencer, who hold that the individual should be allowed all rights until he interferes with the rights of other people.

They hold that the state is not a divine institution, and should be changed by man as he so wills.



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They hold that the state is not a divine in-

stitution, and should be changed by men as we do things.



Anarchism allows the individual too much freedom. Laws are necessary in order that the individual may have the greatest amount of freedom. Without laws and the state we would soon become a people ruled by a few who had gained control of all power. It is natural for men to organize and if there were no state, necessity would create one.

Following this there is a short review of socialism and anarchism, pointing out their failure to solve the problem of the individual's subordination to the institution.

#### IV. Relation of the Individual to the Institution:

This section starts with a discussion of the individual's dependence upon society, branching off into the rights and privileges of the individual, which no institution has the right to infringe upon. There are certain things the individual must preserve as self-respect and his own individuality. He must realize that society can only advance through him.

The institution must look upon the individual as a separate unit and not a part of its great machine. The institution must protect the liberty and freedom of the individual. It must force the individual to do some things he refuses to do, if they are for the advancement of society.



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In part there must be a better understanding of each other and their needs. There must be a willingness on the part of the institution and the individual to sacrifice something for the benefit of the other. They must discover their proper relationship to one another.

The license of the individual must be curbed, but the instincts and powers of the individual must not be crippled or stunted.<sup>1</sup>

They must work together for the benefit of society. With an intelligent understanding of each other's purpose, they will strive for the development of the human race.

1. Tensley, A.G. New Psychology, p.295.











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